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The Man of Action in Modern Society*

Sir Basil Embry

DO you ever get up in the morning full of ideas, enthusiasm, energy, determined to straighten out your difficulties, improve your lot, make progress in your work, business, or profession and then find as the day goes on that the means are so indirect, the opposition so vague and numerous, and the people who oppose you so elusive, that in the evening your enthusiasm has gone, and you go to bed saying, 'What is the use?'? You probably do; and in my opinion this is a most dangerous, insidious, and crippling feature in our national life today—this modern disease of over-organisation and complication that leads to eventual inertia and stagnation.

Enemies of Decision

Public administration and life in general have become infinitely more complicated in the last twenty years, and decision on any matter—whether it be what colour you should paint your front door, or whether we shall have a system of trunk roads in England—has come to depend more and more upon complicated co-ordination between innumerable bodies. Policy decisions have repercussions on other policy, and so the factors for coming to a decision multiply until it becomes increasingly difficult to decide anything at all. There is a Chinese proverb—and I believe a genuine one—which says: 'He who considers everything decides nothing'. I am not so innocent as to imagine that a great deal of this ever-growing complication is not necessary, but my case is that the

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complications are increasing faster than the need for them, and certainly faster than the resulting benefits and efficiency.

Much of this complication is brought about by the craze to try to make rules and regulations to cover every contingency in life; and trying to do this is a bad thing in itself, and it has the effect of hamstringing us because every rule that we make, and I believe we must have made more rules in the last twenty years than in all the history of our previous legislation, has increased the difficulties of public administration and has made it necessary to increase the size of administrative staffs, which in turn has increased the complications and slowed down the giving of decisions and action.

These difficulties have worked in two different ways on two different sorts of people. The first of these sorts of people are those who want to get things done. For them, the rules have imposed a greater and greater brake on their efficiency and initiative. The second set of people are those who have various reasons for not wanting to get things done. For them, the situation we are creating has provided an almost endless series of excuses into which they can disappear as a visitor into Hampton Court maze, to rotate endlessly about the problem without ever coming nearer to it, though often crossing their own tracks.

To look at these things objectively and to deplore the gradual clogging of our national life with the endless committee work and the undergrowth of co-ordinating officials is not to advocate any form of autocracy. The totalitarian regimes which have thrown the world into such misery over the last thirty years have sufficiently discredited this system of government to make one recoil in horror from anything that savours of dictatorship—whether it be of a man, or a body of men. True democracy (as I see it) rests, and always will rest, on the rule of law framed by a law-making body freely elected. These factors are immutable. But how far can this system stretch its protecting arms round us before it stifles us? What we are getting at present, and we can see it in every aspect of our daily life, is too much direction, too much co-ordination, too much consideration, too many minds working on one simple subject, too many opinions chasing one poor harried conclusion. In a phrase: too much talk and too little action. It seems there always has to be a precedent

for everything we do, and if there is not a precedent, nothing can be done.

These are harsh words, but I mean them to be. We may fail by stupidity, fail by ignorance, by laziness, or by error. But let us never fail because we have not had the courage to make a mistake. It is because we are frightened to make a mistake that so often leads to us doing nothing. Let us learn by our mistakes, and if we do fail, at least we will not have failed through doing nothing.

This complication shows itself in many ways. One of them is corporate responsibility. In a society when almost everything, even down to the smallest detail, is decided by committee it is practically impossible to put the responsibility for anything—good or bad—upon an individual. This is a discouragement to the first type of man, who wishes to get things done. And it is a great encouragement to the second type of man, who does not want to get things done, because his responsibility is divided among so many people that he will never be accused personally of obstruction, muddle-headedness, or plain ineptitude. His attitude is an interesting one and should be examined very carefully. Why is it that he does not want to get anything done? Why does he rejoice in the working party, the profusion of committees, the endless co-ordinating authorities, and the rest of the bureaucratic jungle in which he can hide so safely? My own theory is that he lacks courage: it is a special sort of quality, this courage to say 'I did it', or 'I was responsible'—a type of courage sometimes lacking in those whose physical courage is beyond reproach. It may stem from some type of mental insecurity, but these are fields into which I am not qualified to explore. As the judgement of a layman, however, and from considerable experience of these men, I would say that he is opposed to change on principle, and his excuse is: 'Really it isn't fair on all the other chaps for me to settle this without giving them their chance to comment'.

It is increasingly noticeable that tracking down a decision to the man who made it is becoming year by year more difficult. If you ask for a permit and you are told you cannot have one, you may not say, 'Who says I can't have a permit?', or if you do say that, the answer will be 'They say you can't have a permit.' And who are 'they'? You never know. Only

the other day I was told the story of an industrialist who wished to import some special machine tools, which he could not obtain in England, and which would have enabled him to speed up his production and reduce the costs of his overheads. He applied for the necessary import licence, but months later he was still arguing with the licensing authorities and, in the meantime, he had lost overseas orders.

If this country had a self-contained economy, it might be all right for us to indulge in this rather quaint but very irritating way of conducting our affairs. Unfortunately, Great Britain, as you know as well as I do, is in a very different position. It will never be self-contained. It will always depend upon inventing, producing, and exporting to feed itself. If everybody wants to go on eating three meals a day and enjoying a reasonable standard of living they cannot afford the old-fashioned little characteristics which I have been describing. We cannot afford the man, whatever his motives, who does not care whether things are done or not. We cannot afford the administrator whose 'pending tray' is full, the committee that drags on endlessly and gives birth to a dozen sub-committees. We cannot afford to consider everything and decide nothing.

A Flourishing Mediocrity

In the system which we are so laboriously building up mediocrity flourishes. A committee usually works to the lowest common denominator of its members—a council of three brilliant men and five mediocre men produces mediocre results—and takes far too long to do it. If it were not for the urgency which is part and parcel of daily life in these islands this would not matter so much, though it would be a sad thing; but mediocre results are not good enough. Lack of incentive to do better, lack of opportunity to originate and pioneer, and lack of scope to develop ideas will strangle us more surely than the attempts made by the submarine campaigns of two wars. So we must consider what is at the bottom of this system that has grown upon us. And how, without dislocating our national way of life, we can begin, as it were, a series of setting-up exercises which will remove the surplus fat from our public body. I should say here that my criticisms are aimed at every phase of our daily life.

I think we must reverse certain trends, and reverse them consciously and strongly. One of these trends is the centralisation of responsibility. You no longer put a man in charge of a job and tell him to make the decisions necessary—adding, in an aside, that if he makes the wrong decisions you will fire him. Lord Milner said : ‘The way to get things done is to choose a man and back him’, but nowadays, instead of doing this, you tell him that he is a manager, probably responsible to a committee, which will consider his problems and make recommendations on them to another body, who will—if life lasts long enough—produce a decision and transmit it back to him for action. It might be possible, working on a time basis, to decentralise responsibility so as to kill this evil. In the modern world every decision includes a time factor. But so often we forget this. If only we could remember this time factor we might then bring about some decentralisation of responsibility to people who are probably only too willing and anxious to accept it.

We should, somehow, try to indoctrinate those who control our affairs in the practical problems of industrial and commercial life, and we should, I am certain, endeavour to simplify and reduce the number of rules, restrictions and regulations, so many of which are compiled by men who are completely out of touch with practical issues, and which only succeed in hindering and gumming up the smooth working of our affairs. All administration and the principles governing administration work from the top down, and how we are to bring a change of heart into the men at the top of the administrative tree is not for me to say, but the warning is clear.

Over the years this country has built up its position in the world by the initiative and drive of men of action in all activities of life, not only in public administration but in science and technology in all its branches. If we are to hold our position and improve it, I am certain that these men must receive more encouragement, more incentive, and must be freed from the shackles of petty restrictions. If we do not change our ways we will, I believe, destroy the very foundations of our strength—which are our inventive genius, imaginative thinking, technical skill and ‘know-how’. We cannot afford in our struggle for industrial and commercial survival to have our course made more difficult by the navigational

hazards of bureaucracy, or our speed reduced by the drag of official inertia. The man who grows up in England with the fire of enthusiasm still alive within him has a disappointing path ahead. He will find the things he must not do are not confined to actual crimes. Indeed, crimes form but a minor part of the prohibitions of life. If he wants to get things done he must force his way into and through the treacle of well-meant, legally devised discouragement and obstruction, until either he emigrates or the fire is extinguished.

We often admire and compliment our cousins of the Commonwealth countries for these very qualities which we are suppressing in ourselves. I suggest to you that at least part of their national characteristics are due to the men who have emigrated from these islands, and who prefer to launch out into a new world rather than stifle in the restrictive environment which we are slowly coming to think is natural to us. I have nothing to say against this migration; I only warn you that if it goes on for too long, and the reasons that bring it about continue, we shall find ourselves in a steady, unspectacular, and inevitable decline. I sincerely believe that we in this country have enough common sense to see the dangers before it is too late. Do not let us wait until the eleventh hour, when we will have a long way to struggle back. In this year of 1956 the golden opportunity lies before us. Let us take it boldly, imaginatively, and bequeath to our children and grandchildren a legacy which will make them proud of us. To do so, we must alter course from that which we are now steering.

Police-Administration in India—A Re-appraisal of the Aims and Means

D. G. Karve

IN the context of building up a policing structure appropriate to a democracy, two or three organisational aspects deserve special attention. In the older democracies, institutional and organisational patterns tended to have a natural growth. This evolutionary process ensured functional efficiency and public acceptance. For the newer democracies, a conscious effort at building up formal arrangements and informal conventions is necessary. The choice of model is as important as the patience and restraint needed to adhere to it in spite of short-term temptations to the contrary. The model itself has, occasionally, to be a synthetic and adapted model. If a sound start is made by a deliberate effort, the necessary traditions can naturally and freely be built up in due course. In India, the peaceful manner in which the bureaucratic top-structure gave place to a democratic system creates an impression of evolutionary growth which is not altogether correct. The position of the Judiciary vis-a-vis the Executive Government furnishes an interesting example. At the highest level, *i.e.* in the high courts, an independent status was not only provided by law but was also nursed as a cherished tradition even in the bureaucratic days. The High Courts have, therefore, been able to carry-over their independent traditions with even greater propriety and success in our republican period. At the district level, however, the combination of executive and judicial functions in the hands of the District Magistrate has continued to carry-over a feature which is directly connected with bureaucratic ideas about the nature and machinery for criminal justice in a colonial state. A separation of the Judiciary from the Executive at the district level has only proceeded very slowly and cannot be said to have been completed effectively anywhere.

The least amenable to democratic influence was the

police organization, because the police was the instrument *par excellence* through which bureaucratic administration was made effective. The District Magistrate, the chief spokesman of the bureaucracy in each district, was also the head of the police, which was organized as a force under a Superintendent of Police. Originally the Superintendent was almost invariably a European, and a member of the Indian Police Service, as the District Magistrate was a member of the corresponding superior service, namely, the Indian Civil Service. Below the "Europeanized" cadre of superior officers there was a provincial cadre of Indian Officers of an intermediate status of deputies. The lowest officer class was the subordinate service of Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors. The I.P.S. cadre was very gradually Indianized by reserving a certain number of vacancies for Indian candidates at competitive examinations for the Service. For the provincial posts, as a rule, no non-Indians (Anglo-Indians being statutory Indians) were appointed. Some of the deputies were appointed by direct selection, some by promotion from lower ranks of officers. Sub-Inspectors, from among whom Inspectors were appointed by promotion, were directly appointed, though suitably qualified and competent men of lower rank could occasionally be appointed as Inspectors.

Education and colour thus gave to the Indian Police Force a composition which was most unsuitable to democratic society. The pattern of a large number of less educated officers being directed by a small number of highly qualified and, for the most part, directly selected superior officers, was in effect a class composition. In some contexts it tended to be a community as well as caste composition. Moreover, there was not that internal *esprit de corps* which is found among officers, the junior-most among whom may look forward to being the head of the force, if his competence entitles him to that post, and whose leader himself has once been at the junior-most level. Such *esprit de corps* which is valuable in all organized services, is almost indispensable in an executive and occasionally coercive 'force' such as the police are. The class composition and status differentiation among police officers have always been vital defects in Indian police organization. These defects are all the more glaring in the democratic context of a republican and socialistic age. Keeping a certain number of places open for promotion from junior ranks is at best a poor device for bridging the gulf between

the rungs or divisions of the force which for the time being are considered unavoidable for the efficient discharge of the functions of several posts.

II

Taking into account the levels of physical and mental standards as well as educational and social qualifications needed for the discharge of higher levels of duty, it is desirable to broadbase the area of promotion by making the largest possible group eligible for preferment in keeping with an individual's capacity. It is this principle, which underlies the British system of recruitment at constable level of almost all police personnel, excluding only the highest position or two, and excluding also some of the specialist jobs. A constable, according to British law and practice, is as much an 'officer', as the Commissioner or the Chief Constable. According to Indian law also, a constable is an 'officer of police responsible for enforcement of law'. But he has never been treated as of officer rank. His has been a position which at best could be compared to that of a 'sepoy' of the Indian Army. The British system has been for the most part successful in its own environment. The general improvement in standards of education and social equality, coupled with conditions of service in the police, has made it possible to attract to police work, on constable level, personnel which is potentially capable of discharging duties of higher posts as well. The first hand practical experience which senior officers promoted under this system gather over long years stands them in good stead in their professional work. Moreover, the contacts with and influence over men and over junior ranks thus built up make for better cohesion and better leadership. On the other hand, senior officers who come up under this system are a little too old and a little too unadaptable to discharge, with vigour, objectivity and initiative, the more responsible duties of direction associated with higher posts. Public relations, including relations with local and national authorities, are also matters which need qualities which a long course of duty in very subordinate positions would not necessarily develop.

It was probably a recognition of these facts which led in U.K. to the adoption of a practice of selecting direct recruits for officers' posts from among better educated candidates.

This system was in operation for three years, between 1935-38, during which period about 20 men were recruited and were put through a special course of instruction in the Police Training College, at Hendren. The innovation was resented by the police force as a whole. They felt that it was a reflection on their capacity, and that as a thin end of the wedge it would later disrupt the integrity of the force as corps of officers. The sustained opposition coupled with circumstances created by World War II led to the abandoning of the new system. It has never been revived in the old form. The professional performance of officers recruited and trained under the system is considered to be fully equal to the high standards of the police force. In the special field covered by the broad term "public relations", these officers have given a really good account of themselves. It is unlikely, however, that the system as it was framed in 1935 will be reconsidered for adoption. But the shortcomings of an exclusive reliance on the older system, and the importance of some of the organizational features of police work for which in addition to professional competence other qualities are necessary, may give rise to some adaptation of the old system to suit new requirements. It is not possible to say what form this adaptation may take, or when it will come about. It would however, be wrong to assume that all concerned with police organization in England are so fully satisfied with the present system as not to entertain any ideas of change.

In the light of experience, in India as well as outside, it is clear that what is described as the rank of a Sub-Inspector should be made the only entrance to Officers' posts in the police organization. To the extent to which any persons below the rank of Sub-Inspector are considered 'qualified to be appointed Sub-Inspectors they should be so appointed by selection. But whether by appointment or selection, all officers should start as Sub-Inspectors. As the standard of education and social equality rises, it will be possible to rely more and more on the method of selection to obtain the required strength of officers. A standard of graduate education can be uniformly prescribed for appointment to Sub-Inspector's posts, suitable equivalences to University degree being prescribed for those who have obtained their qualifications in other ways. The nature and duration of the preliminary training to be imparted to newly recruited Sub-Inspectors will have to be recast in keeping with the more important role

that they may later on be called upon to play. At appropriate later stages, further selection by committees and further training of those selected for promotion can be provided. Broadbasing the choice of officers and excluding direct appointments need not be construed as leading unavoidably to dead uniformity or to a worship of seniority. Possession of qualifications needed for given posts in the light of their functions must be ensured, and those who distinguish themselves by outstanding development of capacity must be recognized as worthy of preferment. But both for democratic equality, as also for the integrity and efficiency of the force, these qualifications and capacities should be organized on as universal a foundation within the force as circumstances permit.

III

It is an inherent implication of self-rule that all governmental functions should be administered with the maximum possible participation of those directly affected by each function. Where national democracy has evolved on the basis of local or State democracies this pyramid type of tapering governmental functions emerges almost as a matter of course. Things which a lower governing organization cannot do well, or cannot do as well as is in the interest of the nation, are surrendered to higher authorities, which necessarily are further removed from the people and which have to operate with greater reliance on representative authority and bureaucratic management. But where democracy and local self-government descend from above, the process of delegation in keeping with the implications of democracy becomes more difficult. The democratic successors of autocratic or bureaucratic governors find the centralized scheme of services so convenient, though perhaps not so popular, that they are most reluctant in practice to shed real authority in favour of smaller units. In their moments of trial they appeal to the people to share the responsibility with higher authority. But this is asking for the impossible. Nobody will really agree to be responsible for something which he has not decided or authorised. This, of course, includes decision by an authority which people have agreed to treat as the normal spokesman for their interests and choices in a given field. This process of rational and democratic allocation of functions and responsibilities among different tiers of governmental organizations

is a continuous process which each democracy has to pursue for itself.

In England, where parish, town and county administration has an origin even older than national administration, police and justice were treated as matters of natural concern of each community. Disorders, crimes and wrongs might assume proportions which would merit action by a wider community or by stronger and more exalted authority. These matters were conceded as being outside or above the capacity of local bodies. In keeping with this tradition policing functions have been attended to by British local bodies. Even in London, police of the "city" area is under the City Council, only the Metropolitan Police Force is the direct responsibility of the Home Secretary. Fifty per cent of the expenses of local forces is now borne by H.M. Government. Inspectors of local constabularies are a part of the Home Office organization. These Inspectors have in most cases been Chief Constables of some local force or other. Their advice and observations are, therefore, treated by the local authorities as well as by H. M. Government as sound professional guidance, rather than as bureaucratic direction. Local bodies have their own and district police committees for more continuous and responsible direction of police matters. By a long tradition, in important matters of organization as well as of crime it has become normal for local authorities to call in the assistance of the Home Office and through it of the Metropolitan Police. No more than normal delays and frictions result from this decentralized type of police organization, and it gives each community a pride in its own force and a sense of responsibility for keeping its own peace. The English people appear, by and large, to be content with these arrangements and there is no discernible move towards centralization of any of the important policing functions.

Many countries have tried to understand the reasons for the successful working of this system which adds to the popular character of democratic rule and reduces the responsibility of central authorities in a somewhat inconvenient field. Apart from the historical reasons explaining the emergence of the system, the most noticeable fact is the complete absence of an internal security problem in Great Britain. The British people have long attained a stage of national life where no organized effort at creating political disorder is considered to be even possible. In any case, the

angle of police acting in support of the ruling political group against the physical challenge of a rival simply does not exist. Peace is even more assured than the weather, and disorder is only the result of individual delinquency. In such an atmosphere police can be as decentralized a service as education or health. Few countries either in Europe or outside can confidently claim such a complete eradication of challenge to authority established by law. Apart from the incidents of history and recognizing the functional limitations of a decentralized police organization, it is clear that while police functions can be decentralized, national security has to remain the concern of the nation. Unless perfect or near-perfect conditions of internal political security are established any major decentralization of police functions would appear to be inappropriate. Methods of popular association as through popular committees at local and regional levels may be thought of. Some of the functions of the police which have more a civic rather than a crime or security implication can also be entrusted to a civic police. This 'force' with limited functions may act as auxiliary to State police and still retain its character as a 'civic force'.

In England there is a genuine appreciation for local police forces. While on a purely technical or professional level central police authorities may be very conscious of the shortcomings of the local police, in Governmental circles there is an undiluted satisfaction at the fact that the central Government has no immediate or direct responsibility for local peace and order. British bureaucracy has been tested over a long period and it has had its trials and achievements. Its prestige internally and internationally is so high that it can afford to be self-critical without losing face. The British bureaucrat in Whitehall would be the first to recognize that if he had the ordering of police affairs all over the country, he would make a worse job of it than even the small and loosely organized local forces. While, therefore, the Home Office and Treasury authorities would be glad to assist, with advice and funds, in the formation of area committees and the improvement and standardization of police techniques, they would not encourage any move towards centralizing police organization. Even on grounds of technical competence and progress there is a strong feeling that the existence of a number of semi-autonomous local forces has made it possible for new methods to be devised and tested in small spheres

before they were improved and adopted by the nation as a whole. Such aids and techniques of police work as wireless communication and detection by *modus operandi* of a crime are mentioned as widely accepted improvements which had their origin in small police forces. Of course, a bit of local and personal "politics" may always be traced in the organization and functioning of local police forces. But this is a functional disease from which no governmental organization, democratic or otherwise, is free.

IV

As long as political tensions persist in a community, and protecting government against the people or against any fairly substantial section of them is a part of the active duty of policemen, there is little substance in a plea for improving the relations of the police with the people, or for turning the police away from their more characteristic duties of using force in support of social order, towards more direct forms of social service such as active care of property, assistance in emergencies, and helping the handicapped in finding their way about. In England it is so obvious that the people at large look upon the policeman as a respectable social functionary and that the policeman himself feels so assured of this respect and friendliness that one is apt to assume that this is a world by itself. In actual fact, however, these enviable features of the British police are of recent growth, and they are the outcome of an all-round improvement in the economic, educational and housing conditions of the rank and file of the police. The general level of responsibility, including that of the policeman himself, is so high that mutual relations of trust and friendship emerge almost automatically. Only the "underworld" is at war with the police and the law abiding community put together. And even the underworld has been sufficiently schooled in the rules of civilized life to make it possible for the police to function without carrying fire arms. It is at first glance surprising to be told that only about a hundred years ago mobs could kill a policeman on duty, obtain an acquittal on charges of man-slaughter and riotously celebrate the event. Veritably, in law as in virtue, while saints have a past, sinners have a future.

The police must, any how, be prepared to meet any large-scale disorder which might arise. The extent of the use of arms, and the nature of arms used, depend on the character of anticipated disorder. In a lawful system of Government,

and especially in a democracy, the prevention and putting down of disorder and especially the use of force in doing so, should be fastened on the police authorities as their responsibility. In other words, any occasion for a charge that the police are acting in support of one party or section against another should be obviated. This can be achieved only by treating coercive police functions as the professional legal responsibility of the police organization representing "Government" or society as a whole, and not the Government of the day. Mutual trust and restraint needed to establish such traditions of self-abnegation by politicians and responsibility of officers cannot be created in a day. But it is in these directions that law in democracy will have to move. The courts of law have an important role to play in isolating the political aspects and personnel involved in the use of force against a citizen, and in narrowing down the issue to the mutual conduct of the individual citizen and to individual policeman involved in an act of forceful restraint.

In a society gradually settling down to a life of democratic constitutional existence, the police also have to be gradually equipped to transform themselves. This process, however, cannot be hurried beyond what the improvement in the civic situation permits. Much of the blame occasionally thrown on the policeman for a lack of friendliness towards the people really is deserved by the people themselves. The use of force by the police in support of law must be rendered almost unnecessary before they can honestly and continuously stand forward as operators of social service. This is for the people themselves to achieve, and to the extent to which they achieve it the police should be trained to their 'service' functions. Dramatising the latter by occasions like Shramadan—voluntary labour for creating a social utility—has only an ephemeral value. The outlook, behaviour and normal course of a policeman's functions can change only gradually. Personal courtesy, intimate knowledge of locality and persons, readiness to assist by personal service where the need for such action becomes a social duty, are means through which the police force will create for itself an appreciation and respect from their fellow citizens. If the officers do likewise and help and encourage other ranks to be more and more identified as a community assistance service, the relations between the public and the police would develop into an acknowledged mutual friendship, as complete as in U.K.

How to be Interviewed

Don H. Roney and Charles H. Cushman

[In the last issue (Vol. II, No. 3) we published an article "On Interviews" by Mr. Fyzee indicating the use made, by the Public Service Commissions, of interviews as a method of selection of personnel. The present article brings out the complementary aspect of the problem, namely, how the candidates can present a true and complete picture of their merit to the interviewing authorities. We are thankful to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada for granting us permission to reproduce the article from the October 1954 issue of the "Public Personnel Review."—Ed.]

YOU have indicated that you are interested in working for the public service. Perhaps you have taken a written examination. Now, we are inviting you to appear for an interview.

As you contemplate this phase of the examination, you may feel—as do many other candidates—that the choice of weapons and time of attack are on the side of the examiners. And this is more or less true. But a good share of your attitude probably grows out of the belief that it is not possible to prepare for an interview and that there are no rules to follow during the interview.

Our purpose is to point out some things you can do in advance that will help you and some good rules to follow and pitfalls to avoid while you are being interviewed.

What is an Interview Supposed to Test?

The written examination is designed to test the technical knowledge and competence of the candidate; the oral is designed to evaluate intangible qualities, not readily measured otherwise, and to establish a list showing the relative fitness of each candidate, *as measured against his competitors*, for the position sought. Scoring is not on the basis of "right" or "wrong", but on a sliding scale of values ranging from "not passable" to "outstanding". As a matter of fact, it is possible to achieve a relatively low score without a single "incorrect"

answer because of evident weakness in the qualities being measured.

Occasionally an examination may consist entirely of an oral test—either an individual or a group oral. In such cases, information is sought concerning the technical knowledges and abilities of the candidate, since there has been no written examination for this purpose. More commonly, however, an oral test is used to supplement a written examination.

Who Conducts Interviews?

The composition of oral boards varies among different jurisdictions. In nearly all, a representative of the personnel department serves as chairman. One of the members of the board may be a representative of the department in which the candidate would work. In some cases, "outside experts" are used, and frequently a business man or some other representative of the general public is asked to serve. Labor and management or other special groups may be represented. The aim is to secure the services of experts in the appropriate field.

However the board is composed, it is a good idea (and not at all improper or unethical) to ascertain in advance of the interview who the members are and what groups they represent. When you are introduced to them, you will have some idea of their backgrounds and interests, and at least you will not stutter and stammer over their names.

What to do before the Interview

While knowledge about the board members is useful and takes some of the surprise element out of the interview, there is other preparation which is more substantive. It is possible to prepare for an oral—in several ways:

1. *Keep a copy of your application and review it carefully before the interview.* This may be the only document before the oral board, and the starting point of the interview. Know what experience and education you have listed there, and the sequence and dates of it. Sometimes the board will ask *you* to review the highlights of your experience for them; you should not have to hem and haw doing it.

2. *Study the class specification and the examination announcement.* Usually the oral board has one or both of these to guide them. The qualities, characteristics, or knowledges required by the position sought are stated in these documents. They offer valuable clues as to the nature of the oral interview. For example, if the job involves supervisory responsibilities, the announcement will usually indicate that knowledge of modern supervisory methods and the qualifications of the candidate as a supervisor will be tested. If so, you can expect such questions, frequently in the form of a hypothetical situation which you are expected to solve. *Never* go into an oral without knowledge of the duties and responsibilities of the job you seek.

3. *Think through each qualification required.* Try to visualize the kind of questions you would ask if you were a board member. How well could you answer them? Try especially to appraise your own knowledge and background in each area, *measured against the job sought*, and identify any areas in which you are weak. Be critical and realistic—don't flatter yourself.

4. *Do some general reading in areas in which you feel you may be weak.* For example, if the job involves supervision and your past experience has *not*, some general reading in supervisory methods and practices, particularly in the field of human relations might be useful. *Don't* study agency procedures or detailed manuals. The oral board will be testing your understanding and capacity, *not* your memory.

5. *Get a good night's sleep and watch your general health and mental attitude.* You'll want a clear head at the interview. Take care of a cold or other minor ailment, and, of course, *no hangovers*.

What to do the day of the Interview

Now comes the day of the interview itself. Give yourself plenty of time to get there. Plan to arrive somewhat ahead of the scheduled time, particularly if your appointment is in the fore part of the day. If a previous candidate fails to appear, the board might be ready for you a bit early. By early afternoon an oral board is almost invariably behind schedule if there are many candidates, and you may have to wait.

Take along a book or magazine to read, or your application to review. But leave any extraneous material in the waiting room when you go in for your interview. In any event, relax and compose yourself.

The matter of dress is important. The board is forming impressions about you—from your experience, your manners, your attitudes, and from your appearance. Give your personal appearance careful attention. Dress your *best*, but not your flashiest. Choose conservative, appropriate clothing, and be sure it and you are immaculate. This is a business interview, and your appearance should indicate that you regard it as such. Besides, being well groomed and properly dressed will help boost your confidence.

Sooner or later, some one will call your name and escort you into the interview room. *This is it.* From here on you're on your own. It's too late for any more preparation. But, remember, you asked for this opportunity to prove your fitness, and you are here because your request was granted.

What happens when you go in?

The usual sequence of events will be as follows: The clerk (who is often the board stenographer) will introduce you to the chairman of the oral board, who will introduce you to each other member of the board. Acknowledge the introductions before you sit down. Don't be surprised if you find a microphone facing you or a stenotypist sitting by. Oral interviews are usually recorded, in the event of an appeal or other review.

Usually the chairman of the board will open the interview by reviewing the highlights of your education and work experience from your application—primarily for the benefit of the other members of the board, as well as to get the material into the record. Don't interrupt or comment unless there is an error or significant misinterpretation; if so, don't hesitate. But don't quibble about insignificant matters. Usually, also, he will ask you some question about your education, your experience, or your present job—partly to get you started talking, to establish the interviewing "rapport." He may start the actual questioning, or turn it over to one of the other members. Frequently each member undertakes

the questioning on a particular area, one in which he is perhaps most competent. So you can expect each member to participate in the examination. And because the time is limited, you may expect some rather abrupt switches in the direction the questioning takes. Don't be upset by it. Normally, a board member will not pursue a single line of questioning unless he discovers a particular strength or weakness.

After each member has participated, the chairman will usually ask if any member has any further questions, then will ask you if you have anything you wish to add. Unless you are expecting this question, it may floor you. Or worse, it may start you off on an extended, extemporaneous speech. The board is not usually seeking more information. The question is principally to offer you a last opportunity to present further qualifications or to indicate that you have nothing to add. So, if you feel that a significant qualification or characteristic has been overlooked, it is proper to point it out in a sentence or so. Don't compliment the board on the thoroughness of their examination—they've been sketchy, and they know it. If you wish, merely say, "No thank you, I have nothing further to add." This is a point where you can "talk yourself out" of a good impression or fail to present an important bit of information. *Remember, you close the interview yourself.*

The chairman will then say, "That's all, Mr. Smith, thank you." Don't be startled; the interview is over, and quicker than you think. Say, "Thank you and good morning," gather up your belongings and take your leave. Save your sigh of relief for the other side of the door.

How to put your best Foot Forward

Throughout all this process, you may feel that the board individually and collectively is trying to pierce your defenses, to seek out your hidden weaknesses, and to embarrass and confuse you. Actually, this is not true. They are obliged to make an appraisal of your qualifications for the job you are seeking, and they *want to see you in your best light*. Remember, they must interview all candidates and a non-cooperative candidate may become a failure in spite of their best efforts to bring out his qualifications. Here are some suggestions that will help you:

1. *Be natural. Keep your attitude confident, but not cocky.* If you are not confident that you can do the job, don't expect the board to be. Don't apologize for your weaknesses, try to bring out your strong points. The board is interested in a positive, not a negative presentation. Cockiness will antagonize any board member, and make him wonder if you are covering up a weakness by a false show of strength.

2. *Get comfortable, but don't lounge or sprawl.* Sit erectly but not stiffly. A careless posture may lead the board to conclude you are careless in other things, or at least that you are not impressed by the importance of the occasion to you. Either conclusion is natural, even if incorrect. Don't fuss with your clothing, or with a pencil or an ash tray. Your hands may occasionally be useful to emphasize a point; don't let them become a point of distraction.

3. *Don't wisecrack or make small talk.* This is a serious situation, and your attitude should show that you consider it as such. Further, the time of the board is limited; they don't want to waste it, and neither should you.

4. *Don't exaggerate your experience or abilities.* In the first place, from information in the application, from other interviews and other sources, the board may know more about you than you think; in the second place, you probably won't get away with it in the first place. An experienced board is rather adept at spotting such a situation. Don't take the chance.

5. *If you know a member of the board, don't make a point of it, yet don't hide it.* Certainly you're not fooling him, and probably not the other members of the board. Don't try to take advantage of your acquaintanceship—it will probably bounce back on you.

6. *Don't dominate the interview.* Let the board do that. They will give you the clues—don't assume that you have to do all the talking. Realize that the board has a number of questions to ask you, and don't try to take up all the interview time by showing off your extensive knowledge of the answer to the first one.

7. *Be attentive.* You only have twenty minutes or so, and you should keep your attention at its sharpest throughout. When a member is addressing a problem or a question to you, give him your undivided attention. Address your reply principally to him, but don't exclude the other members of the board.

8. *Don't interrupt.* A board member may be stating a problem for you to analyze. He will ask you a question when the time comes. Let him state the problem, and wait for the question.

9. *Make sure you understand the question.* Don't try to answer until you are sure what the question is. If it's not clear restate it in your own words or ask the board member to clarify it for you. But don't haggle about minor elements.

10. *Reply promptly but not hastily.* A common entry on oral board rating sheets is "candidate responded readily", or "candidate hesitated in replies." Respond as promptly and quickly as you can, but don't jump to a hasty, ill-considered answer.

11. *Don't be peremptory in your answers.* A brief answer is proper—but don't fire your answer back. That is a losing game from your point of view. The board member can probably ask questions much faster than you can answer them.

12. *Don't try to create the answer you think the board member wants.* He is interested in what kind of a mind you have and how it works—not in playing games. Furthermore, he can usually spot this practice and will usually grade you down on it.

13. *Don't switch sides in your reply merely to agree with a board member.* Frequently, a member will take a contrary position merely to draw you out and to see if you are willing and able to defend your point of view. Don't start a debate, yet don't surrender a good position. If a position is worth taking, it is worth defending.

14. *Don't be afraid to admit an error in judgment if you are shown to be wrong.* The board knows that you are

forced to reply without any opportunity for careful consideration. Your answer may be demonstrably wrong. If so, admit it and get on with the interview.

15. *Don't dwell at length on your present job.* The opening question may relate to your present assignment. Answer the question but don't go into an extended discussion. You are being examined for a *new* job, not your present one. As a matter of fact, try to phrase *all* your answers in terms of the job for which you are being examined.

16. *Don't bring in extraneous comments or tell lengthy anecdotes.* Keep your replies to the point. If you feel the need of an illustration from your personal experience, keep it short. Leave out the minor details. Make sure the incident is real and not imaginary.

17. *Don't be technical or ponderous.* Keep agency gobbledegook out of your replies for two reasons : First, some members of the board will probably not understand you, and second, if they do, they will charge you with an inbred vocabulary. They are not interested in a play-back of the agency manuals.

18. *Don't use slang terms.* Many a good reply has been weakened by the injection of slang terms or other language faults. Frequently, the board will note any slips of grammar or other evidence of carelessness in your speech habits.

19. *Leave your exhibits at home.* The board is not interested in pictures of your family, your letters of reference, clippings about your office, or new procedures you have devised, or the debating medals you won in high school.

20. *Don't be ingratiating.* The "soft soap routine" seldom works with an oral board. Be pleasant and smile occasionally, but do it naturally and don't overdo it.

Good Luck to You

Probably you will forget most of these "do's" and "don't's" when you walk into the oral interview room. Even remembering them all will not insure you a passing grade. Perhaps you didn't have the qualifications in the first

place. But remembering them *will* help you to put your best foot forward, without treading on the toes of the board members.

Rumor and popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, an oral board wants you to make the best appearance possible. They know you are under pressure—but they also want to see how you respond to it as a guide to what your reaction would be under the pressures of the job you seek. They would rather give you a good grade than fail you but theirs is a heavy responsibility, for upon their decisions will depend, in some measure, the success or failure of a public service and the expenditure of large sums of the taxpayer's money. Whether it is contained in the area of examination or not, they will be influenced by the degree of poise you display, the personal traits you show, and the manner in which you respond. It is up to you to convince the board that you possess the necessary qualifications to assure satisfactory performance in the position you seek. Proper preparation should assist you in making this demonstration. We hope that this statement will help you do your best.

Leadership in Administration

K. N. Butani

THE existence of a large number of separate organised "Services" to deal with separate subjects has been one of the principle characteristics of the structure and pattern of administration in India. Members of these Services were recruited at the lowest stages and had a natural expectation in due course to reach the highest rungs in the "Department" concerned provided they continued to perform their allotted jobs satisfactorily with due regard to the rules, regulations and prescribed procedures. There were occasional instances of individual officers being actuated by a real zeal for public service or for attaining consciously thought-out and well-understood public goals. A considerable amount of *esprit de corps* undoubtedly existed but the main forces motivating individual efforts consisted almost entirely of a desire to secure the good opinion of the superiors thereby smoothing the path of advancement and the fear of punitive consequences descending upon any disobedience of an order or departure from the rules and procedures. The Heads of Departments and senior officers, produced by such a system did a vrey good job of keeping the machine running and ensuring that rules and procedures were firmly followed. But it is hardly possible for any one to say that they had any need or inclination to exercise leadership in the real sense of the word. Such a state of affairs served admirably the special needs of the static law and order State as it then existed.

With the recent rapid expansion of governmental functions in general and of the public sector of industrial and commercial activities in particular, the system of separate organised services is gradually breaking up; but the old insistence on the strict observance of rules and regulations as a means of ensuring performance and integrity still persists. In the absence of the old cohesive force, the emphasis on compliance with rules and regulations produces only an outward conformity without instilling in the public servants a desire to improve individual performance. The rules have helped to regulate the conduct but they have failed to promote crystallisation of attitudes and perspectives so essential to the

contribution of the best human endeavour; instead they have resulted in cramping individual initiative and ability.

But, however perfect be the system of administration, personnel performance cannot in the changed circumstances of today, rest alone on the efficacy of controlled mechanisms based on the concept of unity of command; it is equally essential to supplement them by leadership capable of providing a motivation stronger than that of mere safety or material return.

II

The role of leadership in heightening individual performance has been well-understood in the Army for a long time. While acceptance of authority is incessantly drilled into the 'jawans', they come to accept it willingly because authority there is invariably coupled with attributes of personal leadership. At no time is this more patent than during actual combat when the best is wrung out of the 'jawans' by a display of qualities such as valour, courage and an indomitable will to win, by the leader, and not by the mere imposition of any formal authority from above. The key-note of personnel administration in the Army is that people are not just ordered but inspired and "developed" to obey. They thus develop a sense of positive achievement and action-mindedness which are so glaringly absent in civil administration. The experience of the Army is a pointer to the need for the abandonment of the antiquated approach to personnel administration and its replacement by a positive and bold humanised approach so that the acceptance of authority becomes a voluntary discipline and not an irksome imposition. The new approach should aim at "developing" the personnel rather than treating them as mere cogs in the administrative machine.

We are today in the midst of the immensely exciting experiment of national development and thus in no less grave a state of emergency than the one created by war. Greater therefore is the need for leaders in administration to harness the vast stores of human energy for purposes of development. Administrative leadership assumes a unique significance in view of the importance attached in our democratic Republic to public cooperation and participation in the implementation of programmes of national development.

III

Leadership in administration, translated into practical realities, implies that leaders must have 'spring' and vitality in them to be able to tap the immense potentialities of human endeavour for creative activity. By dash, enthusiasm and zest for work, they should be able to infect the entire team they command with a pioneering spirit of endeavour and towards feats of administrative achievement.

The most essential requisite of leadership in administration is the quality to inspire in men a sense of pride, a sense of accomplishment and a satisfaction of having achieved 'something' in the performance of their daily duties. The unceasing computation of tax by clerks, the indefatigable noting on files by assistants, the continuous concoction of mixtures by compounders, all have an ultimate objective far beyond the immediate ken of the performer. It falls upon the leader to let the 'reason behind the rule' percolate down to the humblest operative so that the environment necessary for the inculcation of a sense of objective is created.

To win the loyalty and devotion of his staff, the leader must possess a high degree of integrity, objectivity, perseverance and dynamism, as also ability in his field of work. He must also display an understanding of the human nature and group reactions, a warm-hearted approach to the personal problems of his men, and a fraternal but strict attitude in dealing with administrative delinquencies. Above all, he should be able to shift the focus of attention of his employees from 'getting along with work' to positive achievement and team work and thus release their innermost urges for better performance which are now bottled up on account of the fear-psychosis engendered by lifeless bureaucratic methods of administration.

Instances of the important role played by leadership in administration are not lacking. Very often we find miracles of administrative achievements performed by units working far beyond their normal capacities just because their leader has succeeded in infusing in them a harmony, a oneness of mind, so essential to team work. This integration takes place, not by the formal authority of the 'boss', but by the catalytic attributes of his leadership. Such attitudes can hardly be inspired by "regulation perfects" who, with a slavish concern for the ritual of bureaucracy, base administration on 'remote and insular' control and glorify the importance of 'pieces of

paper' thus dimming their own sense of human realities. By thus dehumanising administration they only succeed in causing the gradual atrophy of talent and initiative at lower levels of administration.

IV

How then, are we to set about creating leaders in administration. Leadership is not a mere fusion of certain special attributes; though it does imply the possession of qualities like far-sight, vitality, understanding, sensitivity, forbearance, ability and integrity. Above all, there must be the *will to lead* which comes only by the development of the above qualities in conditions conducive to their growth.

The development of the latent attributes of leadership though possible during the training period, is not wholly effective since decisiveness and dash, which are so essential to leadership, can only be acquired by their actual exercise under real conditions. It is, therefore, desirable that suitable opportunities should be provided within the administrative hierarchy for the development of leadership. Men of special merit should be chosen at a young age and provided with exceptional opportunities to develop their talents so that administrative leadership of high calibre and sufficient strength is available to the country in the near future. It is essential to develop leaders not only at the topmost echelon of administrative hierarchy but also at the middle and lower levels, in fact in every office where things have got to get going. It is only then that the whole administration would be inspired by a new sense of purpose and geared to a higher level of activity.

The above plea for the development of leadership in administration is in no way an advocacy of a new hybrid form of the much debunked "personality cult". Far from it, it is the advocacy of the development of certain executive attributes and perspectives on the part of the many who have been entrusted with the arduous task of administration in a democratic country. Administrative leadership would lift the thinking and vision of the rank and file of civil servants above pedestrian levels. Dynamic leadership has taken the country through political revolution; what is now wanted is an all-pervasive administrative leadership to enable the State to undertake successfully the manifold tasks for developing the national economy ushering in a socialist pattern of society.

Nationalisation of Road Transport in Uttar Pradesh

Jagdish Prasad

NATIONALISED road transport, known as U.P. Government Roadways, began to operate in Uttar Pradesh in May 1947. Prior to nationalisation, bus transport in Uttar Pradesh was in the hands of hundreds of individual operators. The majority of them had one bus each and very little working capital, and operated solely for personal profit without much regard for public convenience or efficient operation. In many cases the owners left the whole management to the drivers and conductors or paid agents. They did not ply to any fixed schedule. There were complaints of gross overloading, rude behaviour of staff towards passengers and cut-throat competition with railways on parallel routes.

For efficient organisation and operation of passenger road transport and avoidance of unhealthy competition between road and rail services, it was decided to form tripartite companies on regional basis, with the U.P. Government, railways and private operators as shareholders. The private operators, however, refused to participate in the scheme, and therefore, nationalisation of road services was the only alternative left. Under the revised plan for nationalisation, railways were to contribute 25% of the subscribed capital and the State Government 75%. Railways were to have representation on U.P. Roadways Board, to be set up as an inter-departmental agency for managing the nationalised road transport. However, the proposal for the participation by the railways did not materialise due to certain administrative difficulties. The U.P. Government took over from railways about 200 buses which they had already purchased in pursuance of the scheme of tripartite companies and these formed a nucleus of the nationalised operating fleet.

Nationalisation was effected in a number of stages. To start with, only a few routes were nationalised. Gradually as arrangements for maintenance of vehicles were developed

more routes were taken over. During its first seven years the progress of nationalisation was as follows :

<i>Year</i>	<i>Routes under operation</i>
At the end of	
March 1948	31
March 1949	128
March 1950	231
March 1951	242
March 1952	242
March 1953	277
March 1954	317

Majority of the displaced private operators were given alternative routes and some were granted permits to ply trucks. Only a few demanded and got compensation as agreed to between them and the State Government. The U.P. State Road Transport (Development) Act 1955 contains provision for the payment of compensation for the unexpired period of permits at the rate of Rupees one hundred for every month of the unexpired period of the permit, with a minimum of Rupees two hundred.

Nationalisation of road transport in U.P. is not yet complete. Only about 52% of the total metalled road mileage has been taken over by the State Transport. Under the Second Five Year Plan, some of the routes which were included in the First Five Year Plan but could not be taken over due to legal difficulties, will be taken over and in addition new routes covering 483 miles will be nationalised.

II

Nationalisation has proved a great success. Road transport operations are now planned and conducted on scientific lines. Time schedules have been introduced according to traffic requirements and regular bus stations and 'by request' stops have been established. The punctuality attained by State services is as high as 96% and the frequency of services is increased according to traffic demand, on the basis of regular traffic surveys. Each depot is provided adequate spare buses for the purpose, besides a separate reserve fleet in each region for fairs and festivals.

Special management controls have been developed to keep the costs to the minimum. Particular watch is kept on

expenditure on (a) fuel and lubricants, (b) spare parts, and (c) tyres and tubes. Consumption norms in each of these cases have been worked out and are enforced through a system of regular checks and inspections. Eight regional and one central workshop have been set up for heavy repairs and renovation of major components and chassis and engines. Proper maintenance and timely repair of vehicles is now a normal feature. The strength of staff for the regional and depot offices has been fixed on the basis of volume of business to be transacted and as high output per employee as possible is aimed at. The total staff employed per bus in U.P. Roadways compares very favourably with that employed in other State undertakings. The comparative cost of operation in U.P., Bombay and Hyderabad per earning mile for various items of expenditure on nationalised road transport during the year 1954-55 is shown in the table given at the end of the article.

As a result of nationalisation many new amenities have been provided for passengers. These include waiting halls, booking offices, refreshment stalls, lavatories, drinking water, seat reservation facilities, weighing scale for booking of luggage and better buses with cushioned seats.

Nationalisation has also brought in its wake stabilisation and improvement in the service conditions of the staff. The State Transport is employing more staff per bus than the private operators did. Nationalisation has thus helped in reducing unemployment. Most of the staff have been made permanent and is now employed on time scales of pay, with benefits of weekly offs, holidays with pay, and regular hours of work. The employees of the State Transport (except those who are covered by the Factories Act) generally enjoy all the benefits to which other Government servants are entitled. A staff benevolent fund has been opened to assist low paid employees in case of dire need. Recreational clubs and cooperative canteens have been set up and indoor games and newspapers have been provided for workers. Employees are encouraged to take part in sports and games and sports meets are organised in each region, and an inter-regional sports meet is held at Lucknow each year. Rest rooms have been provided for drivers and conductors at several stations where they halt at night. The Central Workshop at Kanpur has a separate dispensary, primary school for children of employees and quarters for some of the staff.

III

The difficult problem of rail-road coordination has been partially solved by nationalisation. In fixing the schedules of State bus services, care is taken that the timings of railway trains and bus services do not overlap on routes parallel to railways and that there is no unhealthy competition with rail services. On many a route the road transport in U.P. now acts as feeder to railways and the development of bus services on feeder routes is directly beneficial to railways. Road transport operates in small scattered units and is therefore more expensive to run than the railway which may be called a "mass production unit". Rail-road coordination, however, does not imply a total absence of competition between the two forms of transport on roads parallel to rail routes.

It is contended that nationalisation hampered the growth of road transport because a large number of vehicles of private operators were displaced from certain routes when the new ones were put on road by the State. For such routes, particularly those parallel to railways, a large number of permits had been granted by Regional Transport Authorities to private individuals who were operating on alternate days or every third day. Nationalisation here has resulted in rationalisation of transport by intensive utilisation of buses, each bus of nationalised transport doing two to three times the daily mileage done by vehicle of private operators. And despite this rationalisation, nationalisation of motor transport has resulted in an increase in the number of motor vehicles on road. During the seven years (1948-55) transport vehicles belonging to private persons and State roadways have increased from 8,716 and 570 to 9,130 and 1,808 respectively, an increase of about 18% in vehicles operated in the State.

IV

Nationalised road transport in U.P. is operated under departmental management. The Roadways Organisation is headed by the Transport Commissioner who is directly responsible to the Government. Generally, departmental management does not facilitate quick decisions, nor does it admit of easy reappropriations of funds from one minor head of the budget to another. The existing rules and regulations of the Government were framed at a time when commercial

operations by the State were not thought of. A corporation, on the other hand, has to a large measure, the powers of the Government but does not suffer from the shortcomings of a Government Department. Its management is not subject to the detailed supervision by the legislature nor is its personnel or finance subject to direct governmental control. It thus possesses in a large measure the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. Full responsibility for management and control and in consequence complete accountability for the results acts as an incentive to good performance and here lies the advantage of the corporation over departmental operations.

In spite of the shortcomings inherent in departmental operation, this form of management has been a success in the Uttar Pradesh in the case of nationalised transport. The Transport Commissioner has been delegated adequate powers with regard to reduction of fares up to a limit to attract more traffic, appointment of temporary and work-charged staff, sanctioning of building estimates and grant of rewards to staff. All major decisions to carry out Government road transport policies are taken on behalf of the Government by a Roadways Board consisting of the Minister for Transport as Chairman, and Chief Secretary, Finance Secretary, Secretary and Deputy Secretary (Transport Department), and Transport Commissioner as members. The Board type of management and control facilitates quick decision and prompt action.

At one time the U.P. Roadways were badly in need of new diesel chassis to build buses for replacing those which had outlived their life. The number and type of diesel chassis available in India then was very limited and they were in demand by other State Transport undertakings also. If the Transport Commissioner had not placed orders on the manufacturers expeditiously the supply would have been delayed for several months, depending on supplies from United Kingdom. That would have also upset the body building programme of the Central Workshop, which had been geared to produce twenty buses a month. The proposals containing the specification, prices etc., of the diesel chassis available were placed before the Roadways Board for decision with regard to the type and number of chassis to be purchased and within a short time orders were placed with the manufacturers. If the proposal had gone through the normal governmental

channels, it would have taken a long time to obtain the approval of Government, and replacement of unserviceable buses would have been delayed.

V

Recruitment and training of technical personnel was one of the main problems with which the new management was faced after nationalisation. Before nationalisation of road transport in the Uttar Pradesh, automobile engineering did not attract young men very much. Private automobile workshops were mostly run by experienced mechanics. To man new automobile workshops which were set up after the nationalisation, the U.P. Roadways had to run special training schemes. Mechanical engineering graduates and diploma holders were given two years' practical training in automobile engineering at the Roadways Central Workshop. Besides them, a large number of young men were trained as fitters and mechanics. A regular course of training was also given to the traffic staff in the regions and a refresher course was arranged for foremen and drivers. It was also found necessary to institute incentive schemes for giving rewards or honoraria for hard and meritorious work to drivers and technicians and other staff. Special technical pay is admissible to drivers on attaining a prescribed standard of technical proficiency. Technicians are specially rewarded for economising in expenditure on spare parts, fuel and man-hours.

The selection of personnel for non-technical posts has also attracted special attention of the management. Most of the work relating to road transport has to be done without close supervision and it is therefore essential that the staff on the spot should possess initiative, a sense of responsibility and ability to exercise judgment in new circumstances which crop up so often due to unexpected variations in traffic and other causes. To secure the services of the most qualified men, the selection of officers for gazetted posts was entrusted to the State Public Service Commission and central and regional Selection Boards were constituted to recruit the candidates for non-gazetted posts. In the earlier stages, young men with experience of road transport were not easily available to fill the posts of Assistant Managers and Stations-in-Charge. Selection of officers was therefore made largely from amongst those who had administrative and commercial experience.

To inspire the supervisory staff at all levels with the spirit of enterprise, fair dealing and cooperation, the top management keeps regular contact with subordinate staff and takes advantage of any suggestions made by them.

In a road transport undertaking, caution is needed in deciding about transfers of staff in charge of traffic and operations. The past experience, gained after a prolonged study of traffic trends and local conditions, public relations established as a result of personal contacts, wisdom gained after committing mistakes and overcoming obstacles in the special circumstances of the area, is lost for the time being as a result of a transfer. The system of changing officers and supervisory staff every three years is not conducive to the efficient working of a transport organisation. Transfers should be made only when they are really necessary for administrative reasons, and not as a matter of general policy.

One of the basic problems common to all public enterprises relates to the absence of profit motive to improve individual performance. For the success of transport operations, it was considered essential that a spirit of competition should be developed amongst regional officers. By circulating comparative region-wise statistics of breakdown, fuel consumption of vehicles, tyre mileages, battery life, break up of cost of operation, public complaints, accidents, earnings per mile, vehicle utilisation, etc., an enthusiasm was created amongst the officers to beat each other in efficiency and economy. Letters of appreciation were issued to those who did good work. Operational mistakes made in a region were carefully analysed and discussed at joint meetings of General Managers. This prevented others from repeating them.

In order to maintain contacts with local public opinion and to ensure that local interests are served by the Roadways as best as possible, Regional Advisory Committees have been set up in each region. The Committees consider matters relating to passenger amenities, time-tables, roadways routes, passenger services, etc. and consist of the Commissioner of the Division as Chairman, Superintending Engineer or Executive Engineer, P.W.D., three members of the State legislature, two presidents of the Local Boards of the districts,

Deputy Transport Commissioner (Roadways) or his nominee and the General Manager of the Region who is the Member-Secretary.

The views of the public on the services are elicited by the management through the medium of complaint books and appreciation books kept at all stations. All complaints recorded by the public are enquired into by Assistant General Managers who submit their reports to General Managers. A reply containing the result of the enquiry and the decision of the Department on the matter, is invariably sent to every complainant. It may be mentioned here that the replies to public complaints, given by most of the Central and State Departments of Government, are usually in the form of acknowledgements or a routine answer. The replies given by the U.P. Roadways, on the other hand, aim at the development of good public relations and thus have a constructive role. A monthly statement of action taken by the General Manager on each complaint is received by the Transport Commissioner and is examined by him or his deputy.

VI

The nationalised road transport in U.P. is progressing steadily and has come to stay. The capital investment in U.P. Government Roadways on the 31st March, 1956, was Rs. 4.33 crores approximately. The Roadways vehicles plied on 342 routes, covered 3,64,31,930 miles and carried 5,42,29,592 passengers during the year 1955-56. Over 9,500 persons are employed in U.P. Roadways and it has a route mileage of 14,797 miles. It has all along been running on reasonable profit.

The operation of road transport on commercial lines by the State is a new venture in India. Though the U.P. Roadways have been operating successfully under departmental management and control, the Planning Commission have expressed the view that a Corporation is a more suitable device for running a nationalised transport organisation. The Government of India have enacted suitable legislation to enable State Governments to set up statutory corporations for the purpose. The present writer, however, feels that the form of public enterprise is immaterial; what is more important is the spirit in which a public enterprise is run. The experience

of U.P. Roadways indicates that the successful operation of road transport undertakings in the country generally would depend on the fulfilment of the following conditions :

- (1) The controlling authority should have adequate powers to run day-to-day administration so that there is no necessity for a reference to Government in day-to-day working of the undertaking;
- (2) The rules and regulations should be sufficiently elastic to enable the controlling authority to make such relaxations as are necessary to run the organisation on business lines;
- (3) The rules should also provide for the recognition and rewarding of good performance;
- (4) Suitable legislation should be passed by the State Governments to run road transport services exclusively or in conjunction with railways; and
- (5) A phased programme of expansion of services should be prepared and put into practice.

Table showing cost of operation per earning mile in 1954-55 under various expenditure heads of Nationalised Road Transport in Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Hyderabad. †

Items	Cost in pies per earning mile			Remarks
	Uttar Pradesh	Bombay	Hyderabad	
1. Staff	55.26	56.99	53.61	*During the year, Bombay operated mostly diesel buses, Hyderabad all diesel buses, and Uttar Pradesh mostly petrol buses.
2. Fuel	43.05*	23.03*	20.80*	
3. Lubricants	3.56	4.05	2.43	
4. Spare parts and repairs	28.90	20.76	27.07	
5. Reconditioning of buses		16.91		

6. Tyres and tubes	13.03	31.65	26.35
7. Batteries	0.83	4.06	1.35
8. General charges (e.g. rents, taxes, pensionery charges, audit charges, repairs to building, stationery and printing, ex gratia payments in accident cases)	16.98	23.73	20.35
9. Depreciation	22.99	31.83	18.18
10. Interest charges	7.59	13.85	11.74
11. Headquarters expenses	1.18	19.18	14.95
<hr/>			
Total cost of operation per earning mile	193.37	246.04	197.20
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Total income per mile in pies	213.12	258.56	225.87
Profit per mile in pies	19.75	12.52	28.67

† The States mentioned in this article are as they stood prior to their reorganisation on the 1st November, 1956.



Evaluation of Development Programmes

V. Nath

ALL purposive, planned and organised action in any field—social, private or governmental—implies (a) a goal or an end to be achieved; (b) the organised deployment of resources—human, material and institutional—to achieve the end; and (c) an assessment of results. The last aspect is of special significance in development planning where it is necessary to know how far the targets aimed at have been actually attained and what are the reasons for the shortfall in terms of quality or quantity of the end-product.

A review of activities and an appraisal of results is normally undertaken by the administrative agencies themselves through a system of regular checks, inspections, stock-taking, etc. Besides such administrative assessment, there is another type of assessment or evaluation which is concerned primarily with study of (i) effectiveness of methods of operation and of approach to the people and (ii) progress in terms of the impact of the activities on the social and economic life of the people. This latter type of assessment is particularly important in programmes like the community projects and national extension services which aim not merely at accomplishing stated administrative tasks, but primarily at inducing fundamental social and economic changes. The work of the Programme Evaluation Organization is concerned with this latter type of study. Considering that the evaluating agency should be in close and constant touch with the people and as near as possible to the authorities responsible for planning of the programmes, the P. E. O. was, from its very inception, constituted as an independent organisation but attached to the Planning Commission.

The need for evaluation of methods of approach and of results of extension was, for the first time, stressed by the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee in 1952.* The

* Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture; Report of the G. M. F. Enquiry Committee, June 1952, p. 57.

Committee recommended the setting up of suitable organisations for the purpose in the Central and State Governments. In the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission emphasised that "systematic evaluation should become a normal administrative practice in all branches of public activity."

The Programme Evaluation Organisation was established in October 1952, with Professor D.G. Karve, an eminent Indian economist, as the founder-Director of the Organisation. A substantial grant towards the cost of operation of the Organisation for the first three years was given by the Ford Foundation. It is noteworthy that the P.E.O. started functioning at the same time as the first community development projects were started in the country. Its setting up with the beginning of the development programme has been of considerable advantage to both sides. The results of observations of the evaluation officers have been available to the administrators almost from the beginning. The Evaluation Organisation, on its side, has had the advantage of observing the progress of the development programme at the various stages and to develop and adapt its methods of evaluation to meet the changes in the size and content of the programme.

Objects

The objects of the work of the Organisation were defined at the time of its establishment as follows :

- (i) Keeping all concerned apprised currently of the progress being made towards accomplishing the programme objectives;
- (ii) Pointing up those extension methods which are proving effective and those which are not;
- (iii) Helping explain why some recommended practices are adopted while others are rejected by the villagers; and
- (iv) Furnishing the insights into the impact of the community development programme upon the rural economy and social life.

The importance of the evaluation carried out by the P.E.O. is better seen in the context of the character and

objectives of the national extension and community development programme itself. The programme represents the biggest effort yet made to reach the rural people, to teach them improved methods of productive activity and of better living and to provide them with effective assistance towards the realization of these ends. It is a comprehensive programme touching all aspects of rural life and every section of the rural population, and can well be considered the beginning of an intensive and expanding effort to re-generate rural life in our times. To cope with the new responsibilities the entire rural administration is being progressively transformed. The existing development services are being greatly expanded and new services are being created. The national extension service represents the basic structure of rural development administration through which the increasing development activities of the Welfare State are to reach the rural people. But this is not merely a programme of providing state assistance. The ultimate object is to develop individuals and institutions so that they may themselves progressively take up the initiative for development. Hence the emphasis on the educational process and on the growth of popular institutions.

Structure of the Organisation

The P.E.O. is an independent organisation working under the general direction of the Planning Commission. The most important part of the Organisation is its field agency which consists of about 20 Project Evaluation Officers. These officers are located in carefully selected project areas in different parts of the country. All the States and the major geographical and agricultural regions of the country are represented in the project areas. To provide guidance to the field staff and to maintain more active contact with the State Governments than what would be possible from the Central office, there are three Regional Evaluation Officers. The central staff consists of the Director and other officers who are responsible for providing overall direction and guidance and for the collation and interpretation of the results of field studies and surveys. The Project Evaluation Officer is the key functionary in the set-up because he is the primary observer of the progress of the programme and is in addition responsible for the conduct of evaluation surveys in his area. He maintains continuous and active contact with the development

staff up to the district level, and, through field visits and rural surveys, with the people of the area. Thus, the set-up of the Organisation provides for effective contacts and observations at all levels from the field to the Central Government.

Programme of Work

The work of the Evaluation Organisation falls into two main parts : (1) General Evaluation, and (2) Evaluation Surveys and Studies. Each of these is described in some detail below :

1. General Evaluation

In the first year of working of the Organisation, general evaluation received somewhat greater emphasis than other phases of its work. At that time, the community projects had just started functioning and had many new features. However, as a result of experience in the field for about one year, major changes were introduced in the organizational structure and the content of the programme and the methods of approach to the people. The extent of these changes can only be appreciated by comparing a national extension or community development block of today with the community projects which went into operation in October 1952. In the process of assessing the success of particular activities or approaches, and indicating the need for change, the reports of the P.E.O. have played a very useful role.

The most notable contribution of the P.E.O. in this field of general evaluation has been through its annual Evaluation Reports. Three of these have been published so far. Each report contains a comprehensive review of progress of the programme during the year, which is based on the experiences of the evaluation officers and on results of important studies conducted by the Organisation.

A few examples will illustrate how observations in these Reports have been of assistance to the programme. The First Evaluation Report pointed to the urgent need for broadbasing the content of the (then community projects) programme, especially in order that the underprivileged sections of the rural population might be adequately benefited, and of bringing

in the Collector as the principal officer responsible for community development and national extension service programmes in the District. Both these are accepted policies now. The Second Report contained a useful analysis of the principles underlying the administrative arrangements at the block level. The Third Report laid special emphasis on the reorientation of the activities of the *gram sevak* (village level worker) and the transformation of the outlook of the people. It also made valuable suggestions for the post-intensive (i.e. after the community project) phase of development. Besides the annual Reports, a large number of other reports relating to particular programmes or particular situations in the field, are made available from time to time to the Ministry of Community Development and the Planning Commission. The objective reporting by the Organisation has been invaluable in providing insights on how the programme was progressing, which activities were proving more successful than others, and what problems were being experienced.

2. Evaluation Surveys and Studies

The P.E.O. has conducted a number of surveys and studies since its inception. Most of these are designed specifically to serve as aids to evaluation. Some of the more important ones have been concerned with (i) investigation of the reasons why the rural people accept certain improved practices or participate in certain development programmes and not in others, (ii) quantitative assessment of such acceptance or participation, and (iii) measurement of the economic or social effects of the development programme upon the rural population. The four examples given below—the Bench-Mark Survey, the Acceptance of Practices Survey, the Survey on Cotton Extension in PEPSU and Studies of Rural Social Organisation—are intended to illustrate the scope and range of the surveys and studies conducted by the Organisation :

(a) The Bench-Mark Survey :

The purpose of a Bench-Mark Survey is to establish a base-line from which changes in specified conditions can be measured over a period of time. Considering the objectives of the P.E.O.'s work, the following items were considered to be most significant for measurement of change over time :

- (i) the extent of people's participation in improvement

practices, especially agricultural improvement practices, and works of community development; and

- (ii) the effects of adoption of new practices upon production, income, employment and levels of living of the rural population.

The Survey was conducted in evaluation blocks between February and July 1954. In each block, 6 to 10 villages were selected according to an approved sampling design and a total of 1,000 to 1,500 families were interviewed. Data was collected from all the families, on such items as occupation and employment status, literacy, incidence of sickness, patterns of land holding, land utilization and crop production, investment in specified land improvements, extent of adoption of improved agricultural practices and participation in community programmes and developmental institutions. On a more selective basis (from about 100 families in each block), data was obtained on items like assets and liabilities, capital formation, production and disposal of crops in case of cultivators, and employment and earnings in case of agricultural labourers. Changes in these conditions will be measured by means of repeat surveys to be conducted at stated intervals.

The Bench-Mark Survey has made available detailed data on important aspects of the rural economy which are of considerable interest for development workers, and the repeat surveys will make possible assessment of the extent and direction of changes in these, under the impact of development programmes.

(b) Acceptance of Practices Enquiry :

This enquiry was taken up between September and December 1954 in the same villages in which the Bench-Mark Survey had been conducted earlier. The number of families interviewed was, however, much smaller, ranging between 250 and 300 in different blocks. The main objectives of the enquiry were to bring out through careful and detailed probing : (i) the incentives provided and methods of persuasion used for encouraging the adoption of improved practices in agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, irrigation, and other fields; (ii) the reasons for adoption, partial adoption or non-adoption of improved practices by the

people; (iii) the extent to which the new practices had been found advantageous; (iv) the present attitudes of the people towards the new practices and whether they would like to continue them in future; and (v) the incentives or facilities which were considered necessary for their continued or increased adoption in future. Such an intensive survey of experiences and reactions of the people in regard to specific practices is expected to provide valuable guidance for planning of future extension activities.

(c) *Survey on Cotton Extension in PEPSU :*

Under this survey, a detailed analysis was made of the relative economy of growing the old and new varieties of cotton under different conditions of soil and irrigation, and of the economic feasibility of various cultivation practices which were being advocated by the projects along with propagation of the new variety. The enquiry revealed how a practice, viz. growing of the new variety of cotton, whose economic advantages were decisive, had spread almost equally rapidly in project and non-project areas. Further, it brought out how the acceptance of each individual improvement in methods of cultivation was influenced by its economic and practical feasibility to the cultivator. Some 'sponsored' practices were found to be acceptable to cultivators, while others, which were being simultaneously advocated were not proving acceptable.

(d) *Studies of Rural Social Organisation :*

As development programmes become more comprehensive in their scope and seek to have an increasing influence on the life of the rural people, the need for detailed basic data on social and economic aspects of rural life is increasingly felt. The gaps in our existing knowledge of rural life are particularly serious on the social side. In view of the importance of such data for its work, the P.E.O. has conducted two studies of rural social organisation and leadership. The first study, which was undertaken in a North Indian village near Delhi, analysed in detail the factors influencing group formation and patterns of leadership in the village. The second study brought out the main facts about leadership and groups in a village in Mysore, and showed how these had affected, and had in turn, been themselves influenced by development activities. As a result of these studies, some points which may prove useful

as guides to field workers, have been developed. The P.E.O. is at present engaged in a more extensive study of village institutions and leadership. The study will be of particular value in analysing the factors in the economic and social structure of the villages which have an influence on the success or failure of popular institutions like panchayats.

The Organisation has also undertaken, from time to time, a number of other surveys and enquiries dealing with particular aspects of the development programme or its impact upon rural life. One of the first surveys of the Organisation brought out interesting facts about differences in the attitudes of different classes of people within the same village towards community projects. Other P.E.O. enquiries have been related to more intensive studies of subjects like agricultural extension, administrative coordination, training programmes for village leaders and village artisans, and have been utilized mainly as background material for the annual Evaluation Reports. At any given time, one or more such studies would be in progress in the evaluation centres.

Evaluation by other Agencies

Although the P.E.O. has a distinct and important role in the evaluation of the Community Projects and National Extension Service, its work can obviously form only a small portion of the truly enormous task of assessment of progress and location of deficiencies connected with this programme. The Organisation has therefore all along impressed upon the programme administrations that a large part of the assessment has necessarily to consist of self-evaluation. To the extent self-evaluation is continuous, objective and vigorous, the programme will retain its resilience and capacity to grow. The monthly meetings of the projects or block staff at which progress of the work is reviewed and reasons for outstanding success or shortfall are examined is one instance of self-evaluation. More significant perhaps are the seminars—Inter-State, Intra-State and Intra-District—which have become a regular feature of the programme. At these seminars, development workers from different States or areas, of varying status, and representing different fields of activity, are brought together. The seminars afford a valuable opportunity for exchange of ideas and experiences among the workers and constitute an important

instrument of self-evaluation.

The Evaluation Organisation is a unit of the Central Government. Its scope of operation and the range of its activities are limited by its size which must necessarily remain comparatively small. As the size of the development programme increases, and increasingly large areas are covered by it, it becomes necessary that evaluation by the Central Organisation is supplemented by similar work by the State Governments. The Central Organisation will tend to concentrate on study of broad trends in the development programme. More intensive examination of particular developments which are of special interest to an individual State, or of assessment of progress within the area of a State, can best be accomplished by State evaluation units. The need for establishing such units is being gradually realised and some States have already initiated evaluation activity.

Reference has been made above to paucity of basic data on economic and social aspects of village life. In this field, the universities and research institutions are particularly well equipped to make a contribution. The wider scope for choice of techniques and detailed examination of basic issues, which are possible in studies by Universities, make them particularly suitable for this kind of work. An organisation like the P.E.O. can indicate to them the problems which are arising in the operation of the programme, and on which guidance, based on research, would be valuable. The P.E.O. has already acquired some experience of fruitful cooperation with Universities. One social survey in a project area has been completed by a Southern University, and another by a North Indian University is in progress. This work needs to be carried much further.

Conclusion

The brief experience of the working of the Evaluation Organisation over the last four years has demonstrated the usefulness of independent evaluation in the implementation of the community projects and national extension programme. The findings of the Evaluation Organisation have been useful not only in making an objective appraisal of progress achieved but also in planning of future activities in the light of the past experience and the attitudes and the reactions

of the people. A stage has, in fact, been now reached when it is felt that such objective assessment by an independent agency not charged with any administrative responsibility should be extended to other fields of development activity also. In all fields of development effort, in which the objectives are not merely the accomplishment of stated administrative tasks but are related to consciously inducing social and economic changes, evaluation can be a valuable aid to administrative action. By furnishing an objective appraisal of progress, by indicating which methods are proving effective and which are not and by furnishing more detailed quantitative data through specially carried out surveys, it can provide valuable material for the guidance of the field workers. In this connection, the following observations of the Planning Commission in its report on the Second Five Year Plan are noteworthy :

“The need for evaluation exists in all fields of development and more especially in those in which new or expanded activities are being undertaken. In all planned development many unknown factors have to be reckoned with. Understanding of the interaction of different elements that enter into programmes which bear closely on the life of the people can be of material help in enhancing their contribution to the welfare of the community. Evaluation has, therefore, to be increasingly orientated towards studies of a selective and intensive type, motivated by and leading to purposive action.”*

* Government of India, Planning Commission; Second Five Year Plan, 1956, p. 251.

The Administrative Heritage of India

K.N.V. Sastri

IT was Professor Seeley who wrote half a century ago that History is the root of Politics and Politics is the fruit of History. It remains practically unchallenged although the latter half of his proposition has been questioned. But in no other field of Political Science has Professor Seeley's observation been so true than in that of the twentieth-century Public Administration. In order fully to understand and appreciate why administration at a given time in any country was as it was found to be or why it is what it is today in the same area it is necessary to go into its history and discover the different stages of its development from the earliest times to the present and to examine the heritage left behind at the different layers of its historical structure.

There are numerous factors which govern History and it follows that those factors influence also the character and type of Public Administration. These include the geography of the country, the stage of its economic and technological development, the character, colour and shape of the social organisation, the culture, the form of the political organization and the pattern in which political power is distributed. A comprehensive and conclusive study demands a thorough knowledge of the precise correlation of these factors throughout the historical period and process; but such a task must be a matter of time and patient collaboration on the part of experts. At the same time, it cannot be put off indefinitely in the interests of Political Science. A beginning must be made, and even a short survey of the whole field within the few pages of this *Journal* may be useful to point the direction in which future studies may be made. A historical retrospect of administrative developments, which takes all relevant factors into account, is likely to promote a better understanding of the present administrative institutions and methods, which are intended to develop a welfare state in the case of India, than would otherwise be possible.

II

The administrative institutions of India date back to very ancient times when the Aryans in the North and the Dravidians in the South, with other races and tribes between them, quarrelled among themselves and fused only after centuries of conflict and diplomacy. Geographical conditions were formidable enough, but the immigration of the Persians, Greeks, Scythians and Huns threw India constantly into a welter and the task before rulers and statesmen for a long time was how wars could be minimised and how conciliation could be established. Strength was essential but security was equally necessary. Life had to be ordered out of chaos. The disturbing physical and social elements had to be subdued to organise the human existence into society. Patently enough a strong central autocracy was thus a *sine qua non* of Indian government from the beginning of her history, and at the same time a certain amount of autonomy had to be conceded to the people as a matter of conciliation. Neither the king nor the peasant could sit secure and pursue whatever he liked; the economic and social conditions were extremely fluid and called for constant cooperation between them.

Thus we find that in the early Vedic age (2500-2000 B.C.) the king was the head of a council of peers or elders and owed his position, primarily to his qualities as a military leader. There were very few government officers, namely the army general, the royal priest and the village headman. Two popular bodies, *sabha* and *samiti*, exercised considerable control over the King's powers. As the power of the kings grew, there arose a tendency to attribute divinity to him. During the later Vedic age (2000-1500 B.C.) the number of state officers increased and regular sources of taxation were developed. Side by side with the monarchy, there also existed republics in the Vedic age.

As the people settled down to agriculture and small industry, social and economic conditions became more stable, society was organised into four main castes and scriptures were looked upon as the ultimate source of law. The nucleus of administration which had come into existence during the Vedic period expanded into a wide administrative structure. The territories of the king were extended and the settled conditions of life invoked in almost every king the dream of becoming an emperor. Chandragupta Maurya was the first

to establish a state of modern type spreading from the river Ganga to the Kaveri. He effected a fuller separation of legislative and executive powers and, with the assistance of his able minister, Kautilya, organised the administration on a rational basis. The main features of the Mauryan administration (320-185 B.C.) , which reflected the prevailing economic and political and social developments, were as follows :

1. Land was to be cultivated at any cost. It was the source of food to the people and revenue to the State. The ruler was to supply water for irrigation, loans for seeds and cattle and technical advice for development of agriculture, and to protect the harvest against looters. In return for these services, the owners had to agree to the measurement and inspection of their lands by officials and to pay a definite and equitably-assessed amount of land revenue to the State. The tenure was *ryotwari*, collections were made only if there were harvests, and a department of agriculture and forestry took care of supervision and aid. In times of draught and famine the collection of land revenue was suspended. Special assignments of land to temples, colleges and distinguished individuals in public service were often made.
2. State regulation and aid of industry and trade were quite common. Financial assistance was given to the nationals and necessary protection and facilities were afforded to the foreigners.
3. The ministers were in charge of the entire administration including initiation of new policies and review of the old ones. The central administration was organised into departments and the work was distributed over a network of hierarchical levels. The Mauryans had a big staff of civil servants, drawn from the class *Amatyas*, the equivalent of the modern I.A.S. The duty of the Central Government was to secure uniformity of administration. Asoka was particular to bring it out by the issue of a number of edicts to subordinate officers. Ministers were both severally and jointly responsible to the emperor; but could form groups within the executive council to 'put

their heads together' on important questions referred to them.

4. War, defence and foreign policy were treated as sciences. The minister formulated his policies on the basis of a theory of 'balance of forces'. In a period of war, the non-combatants were not touched and 'panic' was banned. The *Kshatriyas* had to do the duty of fighting, but as wars were becoming big and extensive, standing armies of mercenaries were formed by recruiting non-*Kshatriyas*.
5. Provinces were subdivided into divisions and the latter into districts. The *Rajjukas* who were in charge of districts held a position similar to that of the collector in modern administration.
6. Feudatories were not reduced to vassalage; they were sub-kings paying tributes to the emperor and enjoying internal sovereignty. They were not bound to serve him personally or with their armies in his wars.
7. The village administration was under a headman assisted by an unofficial council of village elders. Village elders used to settle petty disputes.
8. Religious and educational institutions stood on a slightly different level. They could enjoy state patronage but were at the same time fully autonomous in regard to their internal working.
9. Special officers were appointed to preserve and propagate *dharma*; and they moved from place to place as representatives of the emperor. The Mauryan State was largely a welfare one; it regarded itself as trustee of the people and tried to harmonise conflicting interests of different classes.

The administrative institutions of the Mauryan period flowered into full growth during the time of the Gupta dynasty (310-550 A.D.). The doctrine of divinity of the king became more popular. The king was expected to study the art of government and cultivate righteousness. Though the king was responsible for all appointments and decisions, he shared his powers with the ministers

and other high officials. Though there was no central popular assembly, the people did not suffer from the evil consequence of autocracy. There existed a superior civil service the members of which were known as *Kumaramatyas*. The judicial department made a remarkable development during the Gupta period. There were district councils which were an administrative innovation of the age. Each of these councils consisted of the chief banker, chief trader, chief artisan, chief writer and several other members. Large powers were delegated to local and town councils which became fairly efficient and powerful after 400 A.D. Almost all functions of government, except foreign policy and war, were discharged by local bodies. The village administration was in charge of a headman who was assisted by a non-official council known as *Janapada* in north India and *Panchayat* in south India. Government was thus remarkably decentralised.

III

When the Muslim invaders conquered India they strongly opposed a system of life and culture based on Hindu *dharma*. They came to India as 'irreconcilables'. As they were to stay in the country permanently, they had to live and grow amidst the Hindus. Conciliation was thus thrust upon the Muslims and the futility of war and forced conversion and extermination was also revealed. At the base, the Hindu systems of village self-government, land revenue and accounts were used as the administrative foundations of their empire; at the top, the practice of filling high offices with the Hindus and of marrying into Hindu families introduced by Akbar was followed off and on by other Great Mughals.

The main developments in the field of administration during the Muslim period, especially Mughal rule, were as follows :

1. The establishment of a central autocracy generally meant (except when there were major changes in the ruling dynasties) peace and prosperity for the people in general. It brought in its wake a well co-ordinated system of government, the development of roads, the growth and expansion of industries, improvement of agricultural methods and wider opportunities for social and cultural development.

2. For the first time, a centralised and stable administration was established covering the larger part of the country. The introduction of the Mansabdari principle and the complete reorganisation of the civil and military services made for greater discipline and efficiency. Many of the administrative institutions of the Mughal times still linger in different forms. While some of them like village Patwari, Kulkarni (Muqaddam) came from the ancient past, others like the *Sarkars*, *Subahs* are distinct Mughal survivals.
3. A notable contribution was the reorganisation of the revenue and fiscal administration. The merit of the reorganised system lay in the scientific and just assessments of land revenue, based on careful, systematic and accurate surveys.
4. In the administration of justice Mughal emperors aimed at high standards. The canon law was Islamic, but the common law was secular. Local traditions and customs were respected as long as there was no infringement of the fundamental laws of Islam. In civil disputes, Hindus were allowed to be governed by their own laws and customs but in criminal matters, they were subject to the same jurisdiction as Muslims. Something like the modern rule of law took the place of absolutely arbitrary government of earlier Muslim rulers.
5. Akbar placed before the country, for the first time since the coming of Muslims, a vision of a homogeneous nation. This meant, in practice, elimination of all discriminations, based on religion and race, in regard to public employment. The Hindus could then fill by sheer merit any office. The public services were manned by persons centrally selected and governed by regulations which were well defined.

In short, the main contributions of Muslim rule were centralisation, systematisation, standardisation and to some extent secularisation of the administration.

IV

When British rule commenced about 1800 a century of 'provincial powers' had habituated people to local patriotism

and anarchical struggle for existence. But the superior armed strength, skill and diplomacy of the British enabled them to put an end to parochial and anarchical conditions and establish peace and order in the country. Not much British blood or money was lost in the process, and, what is more important, the British adapted and improved upon the existing administrative institutions to suit the changed circumstances of their times.

The period of British rule was characterised by the unification of the whole country under a single political rule, the influx of western scientific discoveries, customs and culture, the spread of education among the middle classes, a remarkable development of means of communication and the establishment and growth of the factory system of production. In its early days, a strong central administration was indispensable to hold the country under the British yoke and to develop it economically in stages. The economic and social development which followed, in turn, facilitated decentralisation of functions, the grant of provincial autonomy and the growth of representative institutions. It is rather difficult to give here a full picture of the British administration of India which lasted for nearly two centuries. Its principal characteristics were briefly as follows :

1. The district administration was the pivot of the government. It was the foundation of the "bureaucracy" and standardised efficiency with which the name of the British rule came to be associated. The district system was adopted not only for efficiency but also for popularity. The East India Company had continued the indigenous institutions at the instance of men like Sir Thomas Munro, Sir Charles Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the 'collector' was a legacy from both the ancient Hindu and medieval Mughal heritage.
2. The British developed a comprehensive system of civil services. The Indian Civil Service, though bureaucratic in spirit, set high standards of integrity and efficiency which other civil services tried to follow. The members of the Service were men of practical insight. The merit system was, for the first time, introduced in India on an organised basis

for recruitment to public services, by holding of competitive examinations. The pay scales and terms and conditions of service were rationalised and standardised.

3. The British reorganised and developed the financial and fiscal administration on sound economic lines, subject of course to considerations of British interests.
4. Justice was administered on the genuine British pattern. Law was codified; procedure was defined, and punishment was rationalised. But the Europeans were given preferential treatment on racial grounds.
5. The major weaknesses of British administration were in over-centralisation and red-tape, stifling of village panchayats and the impoverishing of rural economy, reservation of quotas for minorities in services, the creation of a social gap between the people and the administrators, and the toleration of bad administration in the princely states.

On the whole, the pattern of British administration was based on the need to develop the country politically and economically, mainly as a source of profit for the British trade and industry. Accordingly, while the British rule helped to build an administrative system based on the structure of the ancient and medieval Indian administration, it did not carry the evolution far enough to meet the real requirements of the country and its people. The system resembled like a granite castle whose roof had been blown off.

V

Free India commenced its administrative career with some advantages but also some disadvantages. Among the former were the rich and respectable heritage of ideas and institutions which constituted the foundation of Indian culture and which had been preserved intact by the British rulers, a host of innovations and additions which they had introduced and been found to be popular, the impact of science upon the oriental mind, etc. And among the disadvantages were all those evils which are attendant upon a system of alien rule and imperialism. It was neither possible nor

desirable to reorganise the entire administration Tughlak-like, and statesmanship lay in hastening slowly. But the most urgent of all the measures at once to revive and vitalise it was to 'Indianise' it and to make it a true 'service' of the people at whose expense it was maintained. This has happily since been achieved by making appropriate provisions in the new Constitution as well as by adoption of suitable public policies in the context of the realisation of the country's plans for economic and social development.

VI

The preceding short sketch of the legacy of history to modern, free India brings out two main conclusions. The first and foremost is that the problems of Asoka are still the problems of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, namely Security, Unity and Prosperity in an atmosphere of loyalty, law and order and peace. War, colonial expansion, territorial aggrandisement and such other forms of violence to the life, liberty and property of others were as abhorrent to Indian administration of Asoka's day as they are today. The second and equally important conclusion is that the administrative structure of the country has passed through a continuous process of evolution, notwithstanding rude shocks and setbacks and long spells of stagnation even. The Indian genius did not lose the threads of life or lapse into confusion or dismay. It held itself in patience and at the first favourable opportunity sprouted into a fresh and green entity like the common grass at the onset of the first showers in summer.

The main directions of the evolution, as far as they can be conjectured from the present conditions and plans for future development, are as follows:

1. The whole concept of strong central autocracy has given way to that of a parliamentary democracy in which the people decide for themselves what they want the government to do. The success of administrative policies and programmes would in future depend upon the degree of public cooperation and participation in their implementation.
2. Though the Constitution has defined the respective powers of the Union and the States, stable settling points for the allocation of powers and responsibi-

- lities between the two have still to be worked out.
3. The increase in the range and size of state activities, in recent years, necessitates further decentralisation of functions and delegation of powers to lower levels. How to effect the necessary decentralisation and delegation in keeping with the requirements of efficiency and integrity is still an unresolved problem.
 4. The character and form of the existing administrative institutions and practices are likely to undergo a basic transformation to further an early realisation of a socialist pattern of society which is now the accepted ultimate goal of all state activity. It is difficult to anticipate what would be the exact nature and form of the change. But it would obviously include increased public participation in non-regulatory state activities, more popular control of village administration, greater use of cooperatives for the development of small scale industries, workers' participation in management and some kind of reorganisation of public services on a functional basis to cope with the new welfare and development functions.



"A well-organized service is a quasi-organic unit. It has traditions, an *esprit de corps*, and a common outlook of its own. It has, if I may say so, a kind of collective soul. A single promotion or demotion, a rebuke or a compliment, meant for no more than one member of the service, has its effect on the whole system and affects its morale for better or worse."

—K.M. MUNSHI
 (in 'Kulapati's Letter on Life,
Literature & Culture, dated
 June 17, 1956, 'Bhavan's Journal'
 Vol. II, No. 23)

The National Savings Organisation

K. S. Malhotra

SMALL Savings have, of late, assumed a new and important role in the economy of the country. The mobilisation of domestic resources will not only contribute towards general economic stability but will also augment the nation's supply of capital for productive investment. In the context of the progressive reduction of economic inequalities in years to come, Small Savings will, in fact, be of special significance for financing future plans of economic development.

For understanding the potentialities of Small Savings Movement in the national economy of tomorrow, it seems necessary to dig into its past and to note the successive stages through which the movement has passed. A historical account of any organisation is of importance for reviewing and planning its activities in a broader context. Such an account might also be of value to other organisations facing similar problems. The present article shows *how during a short span of 13 years the National Savings Organisation has grown from a small nucleus of a purely official body at the centre into a public relations agency with widespread contacts all over the country and how the methods and content of its work had to be continuously adjusted to meet the requirements both of the public interest and the people.*

II

The origins of the National Savings Movement in India go back to 1833 when a Government Savings Bank was opened at the Presidency Bank of Bengal. Two years later, similar savings banks were opened in the Presidency towns of Bombay and Madras also. An extension of the savings bank facilities took place in 1870, when certain selected district treasuries were thrown open for such business. In 1882, Post Offices were authorised to do savings bank business, and in 1886 the Post Office Savings Bank took over the savings bank business from district treasuries and a decade later from the Presidency Banks also. Since 1896, all savings

bank business of Government is being transacted by the Postal Department.

Up to the year 1917, a Savings Bank Deposit was the only investment offered to small savers, and the total deposit was a modest accumulation of about Rs. 16 crores. In 1917—presumably under pressure of the needs of World War I—a second investment designed to attract the small savers' money, viz., the 5-Year Post Office Cash Certificate, came into existence. The War over, the small saver in India was forgotten for another two decades.

With the outbreak of World War II attention came to be focussed on the mobilisation of all possible financial resources for its prosecution. It was soon realised that the two securities already open to small savers, *i.e.*, the Post Office Savings Bank and the 5-Year Post Office Cash Certificate, were not enough to meet the needs of various categories of small savers; and in order to broaden the basis of investment, the Government, in June 1940, introduced the 10-Year Defence Savings Certificates. A year later the Post Office Defence Savings Bank came into existence.

The Independence Movement in India had, during the thirties, attained a great momentum and the masses did not feel enthusiastic about providing funds for financing an alien war. The propaganda drives organised by Government officers degenerated into virtual coercion, and the Defence Savings Certificates bought under pressure were sometimes encashed as soon as the officials turned their backs. Government were not unaware of this unhappy position and its knowledge led them to reorient their policy towards the small saver. In October 1943, *Defence Savings Certificates* were substituted by *National Savings Certificates*. During the same year, in consultation with the Provincial Governments, the Government of India decided to launch a Small Savings Movement throughout the country. Its avowed objectives were : (i) to check inflation; (ii) to offer facilities to the class of people, who generally did not subscribe to Government loans, to lend their savings to Government; and (iii) to inculcate the habit of thrift among the masses. Authorised Agents were appointed to canvass among the inhabitants of the areas allotted to them and to secure investments in National Savings Certificates. These Agents were remunerated by a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on all investments secured by them.

To administer the above scheme, an organisation known as the 'National Savings Central Bureau' was started in August 1943, with its headquarters at Simla. Lt. Col. C.K. Daly, CSI, CIE, was appointed the National Savings Commissioner for India. The publicity side of this organisation was placed under the direction of the Publicity Adviser to the Government of India. A month later the Bureau was attached to the Finance Department. It was soon apparent that to effectively tackle the work of popularising the Movement all over the country more staff was needed at headquarters and accordingly the posts of a Deputy National Savings Commissioner and two Assistant National Savings Commissioners were created during the period 1944-46. A Secretary to the Commissioner was also appointed and the strength of secretarial personnel was suitably augmented.

The first task undertaken by the Organisation was to contact the Provincial Governments and persuade them to set up provincial machinery for the collection of small savings. Estimating the requirements of personnel to work the Scheme in the provinces, it was decided to give to each province the following staff : (i) one National Savings Circle Officer at Rs. 1,500/- p.m.; (ii) one Assistant National Savings Officer per administrative division on a fixed pay of Rs. 210/- p.m., plus a bonus of $\frac{1}{16}\%$ of the value of National Savings Certificates sold through Authorised Agents in his area, subject to a maximum of Rs. 210/- p.m.; and (iii) one clerk per Tehsil. The Central Government originally intended to appoint one regional officer for each postal circle (which sometimes comprised more than one province) and to share the pay of the officers with the Provincial Governments. The latter, however, found these arrangements unsuitable and the Government agreed to appoint one officer for each province on a salary varying from Rs. 750/- to Rs. 1,500/- per mensem and also to bear the entire expenditure of the pay. The National Savings Staff in the provinces was appointed by Provincial Governments and was initially governed by the provincial service rules. The Provincial Governments met the expenditure on the salaries in the first instance which was subsequently re-imbursed by the Central Government. The Princely States were to make their own arrangements to run the Scheme in their territories. They were paid expenses for its working, ranging from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the total sales of National Savings

Certificates effected in their areas. This payment was in addition to the $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ commission earned by the Authorised Agents. Four gazetted posts of National Savings Advisers to the Princely States were also created.

Though the habit of thrift among the people was an avowed object of the Organisation, the energies of the department were mostly concentrated on increasing the sale of National Savings Certificates. The Authorised Agents were whipped into activity by the Assistant National Savings Officers in their anxiety to secure the maximum bonus for themselves. But due to a ceiling on bonus which could be earned by the officials in a month, it was not uncommon for investments to be paid back if their volume in a month was unduly large. Administratively, the arrangement was most unwise, linking as it did the interests of the agents and the officials of the Organisation. The not infrequent instances, which even arise today of the staff sharing commission with the Authorised Agents are partly, if not wholly, attributable to this system.

With the end of the Second World War the effort slackened, and disturbed conditions in some parts of the country affected collections. Defence Savings Bank Deposits (which had never been able to gain ground) were discontinued in July 1946. The noticeable fall in collections, which took place in the immediate post-war period, increased the cost of the organisational set-up from about 2% of the total collections to almost double that figure.

III

A reorganisation of the National Savings Organisation was brought about in June 1948. The control of the provincial staff was taken over by the National Savings Commissioner on behalf of the Central Government. The authorised agency system was discontinued and paid District Organisers were appointed. The payment of bonus to officers of the Department was stopped and the practice of reimbursing for the working expenses to Princely States was discontinued. Additional staff for the provinces was sanctioned and the personnel at the central headquarters was reinforced. With a view to broadbasing the Movement, two new types of National Savings Certificates (namely, the 5-Year and the 7-Year series having no lock-up period) were introduced in 1948-49. A third—the 10-Year Treasury

Savings Deposit Certificate—was introduced in 1951, to suit those small savers who wanted a regular income from their investments. Of these new securities, the 5-Year National Savings Certificate, introduced in 1948, did not prove very popular and was discontinued in the middle of 1953. Still another security—the 15-Year Annuity Certificate—was offered to the small saver in August 1954, with accruing interest at a little over $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum being returnable in equated monthly instalments spread over 15 years. A little later, a new security—10-Year National Plan Certificate—also became available to small savers. This Certificate yields $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum at maturity and is open for subscription to individuals only.

Unfortunately, during its first two years the reorganisation did not prove very effective. With the transfer of control of the Scheme to the Centre, the State Governments began to lose interest. In Princely States there were no field workers. While Authorised Agents were dispensed with, no steps were taken to appoint paid field organisers in their places. The Provincial National Savings Officers were uncertain about their future, as the Union Public Service Commission had yet to confirm their appointments, or make fresh recommendations to replace them. The Assistant National Savings Officers, who lost the bonus of pre-organisation days, were feeling disgruntled. There was also delay in recruitment of field staff, and some of those appointed in haste were not up to the mark. Inefficiency and irregularities were also manifest. Thus, towards the end of the year 1949-50, the National Savings Organisation was at its lowest ebb. There was a general feeling that this Organisation had outlived its utility. In fact, in 1949, the Economy Committee set up by the Government of India recommended the winding up of the Provincial organisations and opined that only a nucleus staff need be retained at the Centre.

IV

To rejuvenate the Small Savings Movement it became necessary to launch a concerted drive to improve collections. The Authorised Agency System which had been discontinued in June 1948 was reintroduced in a modified form on an experimental basis in the States of Bombay, Madras and West Bengal in 1951. Three years later, the General Agency System was extended to all States (except Mysore, Hyderabad,

Bilaspur and Tripura) and the rate of commission was reduced from $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ to $1\frac{1}{4}\%$. At about the same time, to tap the resources of the rural people, extra Departmental Branch Post Masters were authorised to be appointed as Agents, and other Rural Agency Schemes, *i.e.*, Union Board Presidents Agency Scheme, and Panchayat Agency Scheme, were also introduced as an experimental measure in certain States.

It was further realized that the stability and intensification of the Movement—so as to reach the remotest corner of the country—could be effective only with the cooperation of the State Governments. Towards this end, targets of collections were fixed for each State and it was agreed, in the Conference of the States' Finance Ministers held in October 1952, that, subject to certain conditions, the excess of the collections over the targets would be made available to all Part 'A' and 'B' States as 'loans' for financing their development plans. As regards Part 'C' States, the collections in these States, it was stated, would be taken into account in allotting funds for such expenditure.

Apart from this important step for arousing the interest of State* Governments in the active functioning of the Small Savings Schemes, several other measures were also taken to impress on them the need of stepping up Small Savings collections. They were requested to set up their own Directorates of Small Savings and State Savings Advisory Committees. The U.P. and M.P. have, in fact, set up such Directorates and it is expected that, in due course, the other bigger States would follow suit. The Advisory Committees have been established in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra, Assam, Vindhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Saurashtra, Orissa and Delhi.

To suit those small savers who wanted a regular income from their investments the 10-Year Treasury Savings Deposit Certificate was introduced in 1951. A new security—in reality an adjunct to the National Plan Loan—was made available to the small saver in May 1954. This was the 10-Year National Plan Certificate yielding $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum at maturity—open for subscription to individuals only and not to institutions. Still another security, the 15-Year Annuity Certificate was offered to the small saver in August 1954,

* The reference in this article to the States is as they existed before the recent reorganisation, *i.e.*, prior to the 1st November, 1956.

with interest at a little over $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum and being returnable in equated monthly instalments spread over 15 years.

IV

Though the Small Savings Movement in India has so far depended almost entirely on Government initiative and direction, the key-note of its success lies in the cultivation of a *voluntary* habit of savings among the people. That compulsory schemes for savings were likely to do more harm than good was amply demonstrated in 1949 when a bold step was taken by Government in passing an Ordinance to the effect that a part of the bonus due to Textile Mill workers in Bombay State would be payable in the form of 12-Year National Savings Certificates. The Ordinance aroused resentment and a good deal of agitation followed. Government was forced to amend the Ordinance, so as to cover also the 5-Year and 7-Year National Savings Certificates which had no 'lock-up' period. Recipients of bonus took payment in these Certificates and lost no time in encashing them. In fact, the stampede for encashment which followed was so great that at one or two places the police had to resort to a mild lathi-charge. Thus ended an experiment in compulsory propagation of Small Savings, which though laudable in its aim, turned out to be wrong in its approach. A good deal of effort and money were wasted but the lesson was learnt that in the democratic set-up of our country, the Small Savings Movement must run on a purely voluntary basis.

A very important and from a long-range point of view what may well turn out to be a most eventful development was the starting of the Women's Savings Campaign in 1953. A Saving Fortnight was observed by women in March 1953 at selected centres throughout the country and its success led the Government to put the campaign on a regular all-India basis. A Central Advisory Committee was formed to which each State sent a zonal representative. The new body was the first organised non-official effort to promote savings in the country. The campaign has now been re-organised with a view to its extension and intensification.

The tapping of Small Savings has recently come to attract special attention. The Indian National Congress, at its session held at Amritsar in February 1956, passed a resolution emphasising the importance of Small Savings. A Sub-Committee of the Congress has gone into the question of find-

ing ways and means of propagating national savings. The Government of India have announced the formation of an All-India Advisory Committee to coordinate the activities of the State Committees and to advise the Central Government in the collection of Small Savings. It is now universally conceded that as many non-officials of influence as possible should be associated with the Movement. Greater thought is also being given to the needs of specialised publicity so as to bring home to every individual the importance of Savings in the context of national development.

V

Today the National Savings Organisation is headed by a National Savings Commissioner for India, who is assisted by a Secretary. The posts of a Joint and a Deputy National Savings Commissioner and two Zonal Commissioners have recently been sanctioned by the Ministry of Finance, but appointments for these have still to be made. There are Regional National Savings Officers in nearly all States and Deputy Regional National Savings Officers in some of them. Some additional posts of Deputy Regional National Savings Officers have also been recently created. Below these principal regional officers are Assistant National Savings Officers and District Organisers, their number varying from State to State. The strength of field staff has been increased to cope with the increasing tempo of this work, and there are, on an average, two District Organisers per district.

Before the recent increase in the strength of the field staff, an Assistant National Savings Officer used to be in charge of the work of six or seven districts. His jurisdiction thus corresponded roughly to a Revenue Commissioner's Division. With the recent increase in the number of Assistant National Savings Officers his work has been reduced and he now covers about 4 districts. He is, however, a non-gazetted officer. He has constantly to remain in close touch with district officials, but lacking, as he does, a gazetted status, he does not command the prestige necessary to enable him to pull his weight with these officials. The scale of the Assistant National Savings Officer's post has recently been increased from Rs. 200-10-300/15-360 to Rs. 200-10-300/15-450.

District Organisers, as their designation implies, are in charge of revenue districts. The minimum of the scale of

pay for this cadre was recently raised from Rs. 80/- to Rs. 105/- and goes up to Rs. 220/- p.m.

One of the major personnel problems today is non-availability of persons of the required calibre to man supervisory posts, particularly those of Assistant National Savings Officers and District Organisers. Candidates available through normal channels of recruitment have been found in most cases to be either raw graduates or persons lacking in experience or aptitude for savings work. The percentage of graduate District Organisers in 1948 was about 40. It now stands at over 50, but the emphasis has now shifted from academic qualifications to qualities and attributes needed for public relations work.

Despite the handicaps under which the Organisation has been working, it has, in recent years, made remarkable progress. The figures below show the increase in net collections in Small Savings during the last five years :

Year	Net collections in Small Savings Rs. (in crores)	National budget (Central Govt.) Rs. (in crores)	Percentage of Small Savings collections to the National Budget estimates (approx.)
1951-52	38.58	525.43	7.35
1952-53	40.55	575.44	7.04
1953-54	39.52	748.97	5.27
1954-55	55.30	873.71	6.32
1955-56	69.19 Estimated	1,131.37	6.11

In reviewing the work of the Organisation the benefits accruing to the individual savers should also be taken into account. It is very difficult to assess real benefits in terms of additional necessities and comforts of life obtained and the increased happiness and social status which go with better monetary position. The habit of saving, once cultivated, grows and spreads over a wider area and is one of the greatest assets of a nation.

In any administrative organisation there is always a need for a continuous review of its past performance and for measures to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of its work. This is all the more necessary, in cases like that of the N.S.O., where success of the programme of the agency depends, to a large measure, on the cooperation of the people. Not

the needs of the people but also the reactions and attitudes have a bearing on the pace of the implementation of the programme. To make the Small Savings scrips more popular, it will therefore be necessary to undertake many-sided improvements, such as offering diversified investments to suit varied needs, special efforts to tap savings of wage-earning classes and a concerted drive to collect Small Savings from rural areas.

The first of these—catering to the investment needs of different sections of the population—is constantly under review, and two new securities were added recently, namely, the 15-Year Annuity Certificates and the 10-Year National Plan Certificates.

Regarding the wage-earners, Government have decided to appoint 'internal' agents in all Government and non-Government offices, establishments and mills to promote the formation of regular Small Savings groups in places of work. Under this scheme, about 4 million new savers will be covered during the next year.

The tapping of rural savings is considered essential, especially in view of the recent shift of income from urban to rural areas. With the cooperation of the Ministry of Community Development and the State Governments, suitable schemes for collecting rural savings are being worked out.

VI

A national effort for mobilisation of Small Savings can, in the last analysis, be successful only if mass consciousness is aroused in this direction. A country-wide movement, somewhat on the same lines as the Bhoodan Movement, requires to be launched to instil in the people a new patriotic faith—a sort of religious obligation that each one who earns, or who receives any gift of money, invest a portion of it in securities offered to small savers. Here is solid national work to which every national-minded Indian can devote some of his/her time and energy, for it is a work the value of which all political parties recognise and appreciate without any differences whatsoever. And it is work which can effectively be tackled only by an army of social workers—millions of men, women and children giving to it a labour of love that is beyond the powers of any Government to provide !

Editorial Notes

WITH the publication of this issue, the *Journal* completes two years of its life. It has been a period of growth marked by some trial and error and also some growing pains. However, the Editorial Board have always been unceasing in their efforts to increase the quality and usefulness of the *Journal* and are grateful for the response and encouragement received from the Indian and foreign readers.

We are specially happy to be able to reproduce in this issue the article "How to be Interviewed" which was originally published in the *Public Personnel Review* (October, 1954), the quarterly organ of the Civil Service Assembly of U.S. and Canada. The "Personality Test" or interview has come to play an increasingly important part in the competitive examinations and other recruitment operations conducted by the Union and State Public Service Commissions. The examination season is now in full swing and the article should prove to be of special interest and benefit to the thousands of candidates participating in the process of the annual replenishment of the public services throughout the country.

Commencing from the next issue, we propose to introduce two new sections, (1) a list of important reports of the Central and State Governments published in India during the quarter, and (2) a digest of selected articles of administrative interest, published in various periodicals.

—Editor

Indian Institute of Public Administration

DIRECTOR'S REPORT

(September—December 1956)

I. Institute's Premises

The Institute moved into new premises at 6, Bhagwandas Road, New Delhi, in the first week of October, 1956. The new premises enable the Research Division, (till now located on Curzon Road), also to be in the same building as the Library and the Office, and has a conference hall where the lectures of the Institute can normally be held in future. The new premises should be sufficient for the work of the Institute till its own building is ready.

II. Foreign Contacts

The Director and the Treasurer attended the triennial Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences at Madrid from the 2nd of September till the 9th. From there they proceeded to the U.S.A., at the invitation of the Ford Foundation, (through the International Institute of Education), to study the system of teaching of, and research in, public administration in the U.S.A., and the administrative system in general. Prof. Menon and Mr. Bapat toured the United States between the 10th of September and the 13th of October, visiting Government offices, (especially in New York State and the federal capital of Washington), universities, independent Institutes of Public Administration and organisations like the Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago. They also attended the fiftieth anniversary meetings of the Civil Service Assembly at Washington. On the 13th Mr. Bapat returned to India.

Prof. Menon continued his tour of the universities especially those of the West Coast and paid brief visits also to Ottawa and Toronto. During this period Prof. Menon also attended the Eastern Regional Conference of the American Society for Public Administration. On the 7th of November, Prof. Menon proceeded to England where he paid visits to the Royal Institute of Public Administration and, near London, the Administrative Staff College at Henley. During his stay in London, Prof. Menon also paid a visit to the Nuffield College at Oxford. Leaving England on the 13th he visited, on the way back to India, the International Institute of Administrative Sciences at Brussels and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration and associated institutions in Paris. He returned to New Delhi on the 20th of November. A full report of the tour is being prepared by Prof. Menon and Mr. Bapat.

III. Budget Estimates for 1957-58

Estimates of expenditure for the year 1957-58 amount to a total of Rs. 20.7 lakhs—Rs. 5.7 lakhs on recurring items and Rs. 15 lakhs on non-recurring. The estimates on recurring expenditure show a small increase over the corresponding approved grant for the current year (1956-57), which is on account of new schemes like short-term training courses and visiting professors and an expanded programme of publications.

Non-recurring expenditure includes Rs. 14 lakhs for the building programme and Rs. 1 lakh for the Library. During the year 1957-58, the construction of the Institute's building will be taken up and preparations for the starting of the School will be making progress in respect of staff and accommodation.

IV. Research Projects

(1) In pursuance of the decision of the Committee of Direction, work has started on the preparation of monographs on (i) State Enterprises in India, and (ii) Public Services in India.

(2) A study on the *Machinery of the Government of India* was undertaken by the Institute in the beginning of 1956. This study is nearing completion and expected to be published early next year. The publication would include a detailed description of the origin and development, structure, functions and programmes of all the Ministries and allied agencies of the Central Government. A brief account of the existing systems of personnel management, financial control, office procedure and methods of work will also be included.

(3) The Executive Council has approved the proposal for the appointment of a Chief Research Officer to be in charge of the programme of research and studies. A suitable person with adequate qualifications and experience will be recruited shortly.

V. The Higher Teaching of Administrative Sciences

The Institute has sent a detailed reply to the enquiry made by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences on behalf of the UNESCO on 'The Higher Teaching of Administrative Sciences'.

VI. Lectures

Mr. Andre Bertrand, Director of Studies, Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Paris, addressed a gathering of the members of the Institute on 'Recent Trends in Public Administration in France' on Friday, the 30th November, 1956, at the Institute's premises. About 200 members attended.

VII. Visits

Dr. Stevenson and Mr. Goodnow, Adviser and Lecturer respectively at the Institute of Business and Public Administration, Karachi, paid a visit to the Institute's Office and Library in November 1956. Dean Spaeth of the School of Law, Stanford University, accompanied by Mr. Merillat of the Ford Foundation, New York office, also paid a visit in the same month.

VIII. Library and Information Services

Subscriptions for eight additional periodicals have been entered by the Library and sixteen more journals are now received on mutual exchange. The total number of journals at present received in the Library is as follows :

(1) Free of cost.....	48
(2) Mutual exchange.....	73
(3) On payment.....	47

About 500 new volumes were added to the Library during the last 3 months. As a result of the contacts established by the Director during his recent tour abroad, it is expected that publications and research reports

of the foreign sister organisations and university institutes of public administration will now be received in the Library on a regular basis. Some of these are already on the way.

A revised sum of \$5,000 has been sanctioned under the India Wheat Loan Educational Exchange Programme for the purchase of books and documentation on public administration published in the United States. A list of publications has already been supplied to the authorities. These, when received, will considerably strengthen the collections of the Library.

IX. Amendment of the Rules of the Institute

In the last report, a summary was given of the changes made by the amendment of the Rules of the Institute at the Special Meeting of the General Body held on the 25th August, 1956. The full text of the amendments passed at that Meeting is reproduced below :

Resolution adopted at a Special Meeting of the General Body held on the 25th August, 1956.

Resolved that the Rules of the Indian Institute of Public Administration shall be amended with immediate effect as follows :—

(A) In rule 1,—

(i) after clause (f), the following clause shall be inserted, namely :—

“(f. a) ‘Associate Member’ means an Associate Member of the Institute, admitted as such under these Rules;”

(ii) for clause (g), the following clause shall be substituted, namely :—

“(g) ‘member’ does not include a Corporate Member (except in the expression ‘member of the General Body’) or an Associate Member.”

(B) After rule 5, the following rule shall be inserted, namely :—

“5A. Associate Members.—The Executive Council may, on application in the prescribed form, admit as an Associate Member of the Institute a *bona fide* post-graduate student interested in the study of Public Administration, and the rights and privileges of an Associate Member shall be as prescribed.”

(C) For rule 9, the following shall be substituted, namely :—

“9. Vice-Presidents.—Six Vice-Presidents of the Institute shall be elected by the members of the Executive Council referred to in clauses (i) and (iii) to (v) of rule 13 and shall hold office for a term of two years but shall be eligible for re-election :

Provided that the term of office of such three of the Vice-Presidents elected in the year 1956 as may be determined by the Chairman of the Executive Council by drawing lots in the presence of the Treasurer and the Director in such manner as he may deem fit, shall expire on the 31st day of March, 1957.”

(D) For rule 10, the following rule shall be substituted, namely :—

“10. Honorary Treasurer.—The Honorary Treasurer of the

Institute shall be elected by the Executive Council from amongst the members of the General Body and shall hold office for a term of two years from the date of his election, but shall be eligible for re-election :

Provided that an Honorary Treasurer shall, notwithstanding the expiration of his term, continue to hold office until his successor enters upon his office."

(E) For sub-rule (1) of rule 13, the following sub-rule shall be constituted, namely :—

"(1) The Executive Council of the Institute shall be composed of :—

- (i) President of the Institute (*ex-officio*);
- (ii) Six Vice-Presidents of the Institute (*ex-officio*);
- (iii) Honorary Treasurer of the Institute (*ex-officio*);
- (iv) Chairman of each of the Regional Branches (*ex-officio*) or his representative;
- (v) Twenty one members elected and co-opted as provided in rule 14; and
- (vi) Director of the Institute (*ex-officio*)."

(F) In rule 14—

- (i) in sub-rule (1), for the word 'fifteen', the word 'sixteen' shall be substituted.
- (ii) for sub-rule (2) the following sub-rule shall be substituted, namely :—

"(2) of the elected members of the Executive Council, at least four shall be in the service of the Government of India or of the Government of a State and at least three shall be in the service of local authorities, statutory corporations or Government Companies."

(iii) after sub-rule (4) the following sub-rule shall be inserted, namely :—

"(5) Elected members of the Executive Council shall hold office for a term of four years from the date of their election and the co-opted members shall hold office for a term of one year from the date of their co-option :

Provided that the term of the office of such seven of the Members elected in the year 1956, as may be determined by the Chairman of the Executive Council by drawing lots in the presence of the Treasurer, the Director and two other elected members, in such manner as he may deem fit, shall expire on the 31st day of March, 1958."

(G) In clause (viii) of sub-rule (2) of rule 18,—

- (i) after the words 'the Regional Branches' the words 'the Local Branches' shall be inserted;
- (ii) after the words 'the Standing Committee', the words 'for regulating the rights and privileges of Associate Members', shall be inserted.

(H) For rule 19, the following shall be substituted, namely :

"19. *The Standing Committee*.—The Executive Council shall appoint a Standing Committee from amongst its members to attend to and to dispose of the current business of the Institute on its behalf. The strength of the Standing Committee shall be such as the Executive Council may from time to time determine. A member shall cease to be on the Standing Committee on his ceasing to be a member of the Executive Council."

(I) In clause (a) of rule 20 the words 'and Honorary Treasurer' shall be omitted.

(J) In rule 24 for the word "thereof" the words "of the General Body" shall be substituted.

(K) For rule 25, the following shall be substituted :—

"25. No business other than the business included in the notice convening the meeting or business of which notice has been given to the Director at least seven days before the day of the meeting, shall be discussed in the meeting except with the permission of the Presiding Officer."

(L) For rule 27, the following rule shall be substituted :—

"27. (1) The Executive Council may constitute or cause to be constituted a Regional Branch for any State or a group of States and one or more Local Branches for any area within any State.

(2) Subject to the provisions of bye-laws made by the Executive Council, each Regional Branch and a Local Branch shall appoint its Chairman, its Secretary and its Treasurer and shall notify the appointments to the Director."

(M) In rule 28, after the words "and each Regional Branch" the words "and each Local Branch" shall be inserted.

(N) In rule 29, after sub-rule (2) the following sub-rule shall be inserted, namely :—

"(2A). The annual subscription for Associate Membership shall be Rs. 12/-."

(O) In rule 31, for sub-rule (2) the following sub-rule shall be substituted, namely :—

"(2). No member whose annual subscription remains unpaid after the 15th day of February in any year shall be eligible to seek or vote at any election and no member whose annual subscription remains unpaid after the 31st day of March in any year shall be entitled to any rights or privileges of membership until all his dues are fully paid."

(P) In rule 35, the words "of the General Body" shall be omitted.

News from India and Abroad

I. INDIAN

Directorate of Manpower constituted at the Centre

In September 1956, the Cabinet constituted a committee to consider the problem of manpower in an integrated manner—its proper planning and organisation to meet the immediate as well as the long-term requirements. It has now set up a Directorate of Manpower in the Ministry of Home Affairs which will provide the secretariat for the Cabinet Committee on Manpower and keep liaison with the various central Ministries and agencies and the State Governments, in particular with the appropriate divisions of the Planning Commission and the Scientific Personnel Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. It will also follow up the implementation of the decisions of the Cabinet Committee. Each Ministry has been asked to designate a senior officer to deal with its manpower problems.

Separate Ministry of Community Development

Realising the growing magnitude and importance of the work of community development, the Government of India have constituted a new Ministry of Community Development which will transact the business previously handled by the Community Projects Administration. The new Ministry will work in full cooperation with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and take advantage of the resources of that Ministry, if necessary. This is essential in view of the highest priority given in the Second Five Year Plan to increased production of food which, in turn, requires the launching of a special drive in the community project areas and in national development blocks.

Committee on Plan Projects

The Government of India have set up a high-powered Committee on Plan Projects with the objects of (i) initiating studies to evolve suitable forms of organisation, methods, standards and techniques for achieving economy, avoiding waste and ensuring efficient execution of projects; and (ii) promoting the development of suitable machinery for continuous efficiency audit in individual projects and in agencies responsible for their execution.

Apart from the Union Home Minister, who is Chairman of the Committee, its members include the Union Ministers of Planning and Finance and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. All projects in the Plan, industrial and non-industrial, have been divided into six main groups. Two Chief Ministers of States for each of the groups will be members of the Committee. Another member of the Committee will be the Union Minister concerned with a project or a group of projects under investigation.

National Council for Training in Vocational Trades

The Government of India have set up a National Council for Training in Vocational Trades in pursuance of the recommendations of the National Trades Certification Investigation Committee and the Training and Employment Services Organisation Committee. The Council is responsible for the establishment and award of National Trades Certificates for craftsmen, the prescription of standards and curricula for craftsmen training in the technical and vocational trades of national importance throughout the country, and for giving advice and assistance to the Central Government on the overall training policy and programmes.

Civil Services Joint Council in Madras

The Government of Madras have set up a Civil Services Joint Council on the lines of Civil Services Whitley Councils functioning in the United Kingdom. It consists of fourteen members, one half to be appointed by the Government to represent the official side and the other half by recognised Service Associations. Its aim is to secure the greatest measure of cooperation between the Government and the general body of civil servants in the state in matters affecting the Civil Service, to increase efficiency in the public service combined with the well-being of those employed, to provide machinery for dealing with grievances, and generally to bring together the experience and different points of view of representatives of the administrative, clerical and other services.

Advisory Committees for Special Officers in Districts of Andhra

The Government of Andhra have constituted advisory bodies consisting of one Harijan, one woman, three Presidents of Panchayats in the District and all the ex-presidents of the District Board, to advise the District Collectors in their capacity as the Special Officers of the District Boards on all the subjects which are not of a confidential nature, and, if the Special Officers have no objection, even on the Budget and Administration reports. The Committee's views will be given the same weight as is accorded to the resolutions of the District Board. All cases, in which the Special Officers decline to carry out the advice of the Committee, will be brought to the notice of Government through the Inspector-General of Local Administration.

Higher Status and Powers for the Madras Legislature Secretariat

Through a recent order the Government of Madras have raised the status of the Legislature Department and have brought it on par with other departments of the State Government. The Secretary to the State Legislature will be the Head of the Department just as the Secretaries to other Departments of the Secretariat, and will have similar status and powers. All the proposals emerging from this Department will have to be routed through the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and the Chairman of the Legislative Council, and submitted, together with their recommendations, to the Cabinet. The idea is that the Speaker/Chairman should also be associated in the proceedings, the final decision in financial matters however resting with the Cabinet. Moreover, the Speaker and the Chairman will now be treated on par with the Ministers in respect of all privileges and concessions.

Interview for Promotion on Merit

The Government of Uttar Pradesh have decided that all candidates, whose cases fall within the purview of the Public Service Commission in respect of their promotion on the basis of merit, will be interviewed by a Committee presided over by a representative of the Public Service Commission.

Prison Reforms in West Bengal

The Government of West Bengal have decided to make use of modern testing techniques to find out the work-interests of the convicts in the Alipore Central Jail. A vocational counselling scheme aimed at suggesting the appropriate employment for each prisoner and the areas of activities which will successfully release and substitute the prisoner's emotional leanings has been prepared. The tests to be administered include individual verbal intelligence test, individual performance test battery, special aptitude test battery, temperamental test battery, drawing a cartography of the personality, and follow-up studies.

Reducing the Yardage of Red Tape

With a view to curbing the tendency either to avoid responsibility or to assume too much responsibility in respect of the disposal of cases at various levels, the Government of Rajasthan have issued orders that a case should not be normally seen by more than two officers (including the Minister) beyond the stage of the Dealing Clerk. The levels at which decisions are to be taken on cases of varying importance have also been clearly defined to reduce any vagueness.

II. FOREIGN

1. CANADA

Equal Pay for both Men and Women

The Female Employees Equal Pay Act which came into force on October 1, 1956, provides that female employees doing identical or substantially identical work to that being done by male employees shall not be paid at lesser rates of pay. This applies to all the enterprises which come within the federal jurisdiction, viz., railways, water transportation, navigation and shipping, canals, telegraphs, airlines, radio banks and other works of inter-provincial or international nature or which have been declared to be for the general advantage of Canada or of two or more provinces.

2. INDONESIA

First Public Administration Faculty

A Public Administration Faculty, the first of its kind in Indonesia, was opened in the Krisnadwipajana University at the Adhuc State in Surabaya recently. The Dean of the Faculty is Dr. Prajudi.

3. UNITED KINGDOM

Civil Service Pay Research Unit

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, a Civil Service Pay Research Unit headed by a Director, has been established under the general control and direction of the Civil Service National Whitley Council. A controlling committee, with the primary function of approving the lines along which the complementing grading and appointment of staff shall be carried out, has also been appointed.

New Scheme for the Oversea Civil Service

To meet the situation arising from the rapid growth of self-government in the colonies, the British Government have announced a new scheme for future recruitment to their Oversea Civil Service. Lists will be prepared of persons who are willing and available to accept service overseas, and if the demand rises to substantial proportions and regular employment for a number of years can be foreseen, they will come into the regular employment of the United Kingdom Government for service overseas.

The officers seconded will serve on salaries and conditions prescribed by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom after consultation with the employing Government. Their pensions and any compensation payments for which they may qualify on retirement will be paid to them by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and recovered from the employing Government.

The employing Government will be asked to agree not to terminate the secondment of an officer (except in cases of ill-health, misconduct or inefficiency) without giving one year's notice, and nor to introduce any scheme of reorganisation which might involve terminating the secondment of a considerable number of officers.

Where constitutional changes take place which fundamentally affect the conditions of serving officers, compensation schemes have been and will be negotiated with the Governments concerned, and in territories where acute staffing difficulties exist, special arrangements will also be made to help create conditions which will encourage officers to remain.

Tax Course for Overseas Specialists

Twenty-seven specialists selected from 14 countries including 6 from India are attending a course of study and observation of the administration and collection of central and local government revenue in the United Kingdom. The course has been specially designed for overseas officials in collaboration with the Treasury, the Board of Inland Revenue, the Board of Customs and Excise and the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants.

4. UNITED STATES

Establishment of a National Committee of Scientists and Engineers

The President of the United States has established a National Committee of Scientists and Engineers, comprised of representatives of major

citizens' organisations to foster the development of more highly qualified technological manpower. All departments and agencies of the government have been directed to cooperate fully with the Committee and to re-evaluate and strengthen their own activities which can contribute to the development and effective utilization of scientists and engineers. Staff services for the Committee will be provided by the National Science Foundation which will also provide leadership to other departments and agencies in carrying forward those activities which will contribute to the solution of the problem of manpower shortage. Dr. Howard L. Bevis, President of Ohio State University, has been appointed chairman of the Committee.

Study of Salaries Paid by the Private Industries in Technical Professions

The U.S. Civil Service Commission, with the cooperation of other Federal agencies, are conducting a study of salaries paid by private industry to employees in certain engineering and scientific professions with a view to developing sound comparisons with salaries paid by the Government at different levels of technical responsibility. Data on pay and pay practices will be gathered in twenty or more geographic areas from employers engaging substantial numbers of scientific and engineering personnel.

Training for Overseas Public Service at Syracuse University

With the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Mr. Harlan Cleveland, Dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, is directing a two-year research study at Syracuse University concerned with the education and training of Americans for public service overseas. Chief of staff will be Professor Gerard J. Mangone.

Students' Recruitment to Ministerial Posts

In Los Angeles County, a new programme aimed at recruiting high school seniors to typist and stenographic positions has been developed. Examinations for the clerical positions are held at School about six weeks prior to final examination, and firm jobs are offered within a few days after the results of the written examination and oral interviews are known.

Students' Participation in City Departments

The Government of Middletown, O., in cooperation with a local high school, has sponsored an intern programme in which senior students are to spend voluntarily two or more afternoons after school hours in city departments. The purposes of the programme are (i) to acquaint the students with the activities of the city government and indirectly to acquaint their parents with these activities, and (ii) to interest students in a possible career in municipal government. The students are assigned to the departments they choose. After one to six weeks' training in any particular department, they are transferred to other departments and thus get a broader view of the working of the city government. A similar ten-week study programme for the college students of the New York State was sponsored by the State Government during the last summer. The programme was designed to stimulate undergraduate's interest in State Government careers and to provide an on-the-job look at career opportunities to the students.

Digest of Reports

INDIA. PUBLIC SERVICES (QUALIFICATIONS FOR RECRUITMENT) COMMITTEE. 1956. 28p.

The Committee was appointed by the Government of India in 1955 to examine the extent to which a university degree should be regarded as a pre-requisite qualification for recruitment to the public services, and to make recommendations on matters such as the standard of the competitive examinations to assess the merit of the candidates in the absence of a university degree and to ensure that the number of candidates competing for Government posts is not wastefully large. The important recommendations of the Committee are :

Qualifications for Recruitment

While taking cognisance of the widespread feeling that insistence upon degree for entry to Government services is unduly restrictive, the Committee feels that university degrees cannot and should not be dispensed with entirely.

For purposes of determining educational qualifications necessary for recruitment, public services have been divided into three categories : (a) Senior Officers—Executive and Administrative; (b) Junior Officers—Executive and Administrative; and (c) Clerical Services.

University degree should definitely not be insisted upon for the clerical services. Further to discourage graduates from entering the clerical services the age limits for entry to these services should be 17-19. For the middle category the university degree should not be made the minimum qualification, but graduates should be given an opportunity to compete, if they so desire. The age limits for this group of services should be 19-21. Entry to the topmost services should be restricted to graduates of the age level 21 to 23.

The above scheme of minimum qualifications for recruitment aims at reducing the rush of students at the universities, to place university degree in its proper perspective in relation to employment opportunities, and to give wider opportunities to people who cannot take up university studies to enter public services. These recommendations take into account the requirements of the new system of secondary education which is coming in force gradually.

Three members of the Committee have dissented from the above viewpoint and hold that a university degree should not be insisted upon even for the highest administrative services. They feel that if the competitive examinations for public services are planned and conducted in a proper manner, the apprehensions regarding the lowering of standards in public services would not materialise.

Recruitment Examinations

Recruitment examinations of adequate standard should be held for all levels of Government service. The examinations should be of comprehensive nature and should test the mental qualities rather than merely the memory or the fund of information of the candidates. Every paper in the examination for the higher services should be of the Honours standard and every candidate for such services should be required to take at least two subjects. The questions should deal with the significant phases of the subject and emphasise evaluation and rational thinking. They should compel the candidates to integrate their ideas and draw upon the entire background of their knowledge and also test the candidates' reaction to different circumstances. The questions should also test the mental alertness of the candidates and offer scope for originality of thought and expression.

In addition to these tests, there should also be some test for judging the personality, attitude and aptitude of candidates. Their past career may offer some insight into these, and in addition, the first three months of the probationary period should be used for forming a correct idea about their personality. Obviously, unsuitable candidates may during these three months be weeded out by a properly constituted Board in consultation with the Public Service Commission. One way of ensuring that the candidates derive full benefit from their period of probation may be to evaluate their achievements during this period and add it to the competitive examination marks for determining their final ranking in the services.

Method of Promotion

It should be open to every individual in the Public Services to rise to the highest post available on the basis of his merit. Unless such prospects are available, frustration is bound to creep in, which would reduce the value and efficiency of the Service. It should therefore be ensured that promotions are not denied to non-graduates merely because of certain prejudices against such persons. Periodical reviews of promotion prospects should be undertaken on the basis of actual experience. As far as possible promotion from grade to grade should be made on the basis of departmental examinations. The system of departmental examinations should be utilised to a larger extent than it is at present, especially in established cadres. The Government should therefore not only review promotion quotas at present fixed but also undertake re-examination of the methods of promotion, and, to the extent possible, institute departmental examinations particularly in respect of organised services.

Training

(i) The training of recruits has not kept pace with the very much increased rates of recruitment to the expanded services. The administrative problem of training which the expansion of services has created is not only highly important but a very complicated one. A proper scheme of training for all levels of Government services should be formulated and implemented by the Governments both at the Centre and in the States.

(ii) For the lower levels of Government service, particularly at the clerical level, training should be organised on a decentralised basis. It

should be given in the districts, preferably at one centre for a group of districts. The period of training should be at least one year and should consist not only of professional items such as typing, maintenance of files, noting, drafting etc., but also instructions in general subjects aimed at giving the recruits a general education to make them good clerks as well as useful citizens. A similar scheme should also be adopted for the higher levels of Government services.

(iii) The Committee does not agree with the view held in certain quarters that it would be useful to entrust the training of senior officers like those of the All-India Services to some selected universities. The balance of advantage, the Committee feels, lies in the Governments themselves organising courses of training with such help as may be necessary from the universities. Social subjects, particularly Economics, are of the highest importance in the present context in the matter of administration. To a lesser extent knowledge of Law is essential for the administrative services. Instructions in these subjects may well be arranged in cooperation with the universities.

(iv) For the highest executive and administrative services, a period of training abroad after they have seen different parts of India would be highly useful. This will not only help to broaden the outlook of the recruits generally but also help to develop an All-India outlook, by enabling them to view our own country from outside, and give them a more correct perspective of her needs and aspirations.

Limitation of Numbers

If non-graduates are allowed to compete for the various services, larger numbers would apply for these services than would have been the case if applicants were limited to graduates. This increase in numbers may well create a serious administrative problem. The task of maintaining uniformity in examination standards would raise issues of considerable complexity. A preliminary examination should be held for weeding out the candidates. It should consist of one or two simple written papers which would test the general alertness and mental calibre of the candidates concerned.

University Standards

There is lack of uniformity in the standards of various universities all over the country. The problem is complicated and a solution must be left to the authorities in charge of higher education in this country. The recruiting authorities like the Public Service Commissions may help considerably in devising an objective standard for assessing the value of education given by the different universities and thus help the authorities concerned to introduce some uniformity in this respect. The Public Service Commissions should publish annually tabulated results of the examinations held by them, analysing the marks obtained by candidates from the different universities in different subjects,

UTTAR PRADESH. REPORT ON TREASURIES; By Commissioner for Reorganisation. 1956. 33p.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh appointed in 1955 Shri K.K. Dass, I.C.S., as Commissioner for Reorganisation with the task of undertaking a survey of the departments of the State Government and making recommendations for their reorganisation. Besides other departments, he examined the working of the treasuries and his major recommendations in regard to their overhauling are as follows :

(1) Procedure for Depositing Money in Treasuries

(i) A very lengthy though varied procedure is followed for the receipt of money both from the individuals and the Government Departments. In an ordinary case it generally takes 4 steps for the money to be received. Besides, the depositor has to go to at least three offices and waste a good deal of time.

The Report divides the payers (not the Government Departments) in two broad categories : (1) those who have to pay periodically like sales tax, entertainment tax, excise duty, etc., and (2) those who pay occasionally such as the payment of fees to the Public Service Commission. In the latter case, it has been recommended that the Departments should issue *chalans* to intending depositors. The major and detailed head and all other particulars should be filled in, so that all the party has to do is to sign his name or affix his thumb impression and make just one trip to the Bank or the Treasury. For the second category, the Departments should arrange to receive payment in any form in which it is tendered through mutual arrangements with the post offices and the banks.

(ii) As a security measure, National Cash Registers should be maintained by all the Departments who receive large number of payments in cash. Such registers should be used by the banks also for receiving payments meant for Government Departments. This will save staff, and above all, enable the depositor to get his receipt immediately, instead of having to go from counter to counter.

(iii) At present payment by Government Departments is made by bills or cheques. Bills are sometimes drawn in duplicate which may lead to the second bill being cashed at the Treasury. That possibility can be avoided by printing duplicates of bill forms in red ink with the words "not payable at the Treasury" across the form. There are at present about 20 different bill forms. They need simplification and uniformity.

(iv) If any Department wishes to make payment by cheque, it should be encouraged to do so. In the case of Departments which adhere to payment by bills, the Treasury Head Clerk should be authorised to pass bills for Rs. 200/- and below without going to the Treasury Officer.

(2) Pensions

The enquiry has revealed that the Post Office paid its own pensioners because of the numerous complaints of delay and rude treatment on the

part of the Treasury Offices. As pension payments form only a small part of the total disbursements by any Government office, the other Departments, it has been recommended, should follow the example of the Post Office.

Moreover every pensioner should be given the option of having his pension paid either at the Treasury or at the nearest disbursement office of the Department from which he retired. This new policy should not, in any way, increase the work-load.

(3) Staff

(i) Realising the heavy work at the Treasuries of Kanpur, Allahabad and Lucknow, where additional Treasury Officers have been appointed, a higher selection grade of Rs. 500-1,200 should be instituted for the senior Treasury Officers.

(ii) Members of the U.P. Finance and Accounts Service should be eligible for appointment to appropriate posts in the Finance Department.

(iii) The Treasury staff should be separated from the Collectorate staff. If the cadre is made entirely separate the efficiency of the staff will increase considerably.

(iv) Provision should be made for the direct promotion of senior Treasury Head Clerks to the posts of Treasury Officer. Half of the vacancies reserved for promotion of Office Superintendents and Treasury Head Clerks to Treasury Officers may be filled in exclusively by direct promotion of Treasury Head Clerks.

(v) In no case should the surplus staff be retrenched. They should be absorbed gradually in other Departments.

(4) Miscellaneous

The Report contains a note by Shri Virendra, Sales Tax Commissioner, Delhi (on leave), which recommends the adoption of mechanized accounting. The best time, however, to begin the experiment, it is felt, would be after decimalized currency has been introduced and sometimes after the actual simplification of the measures suggested in the Report.

U.K. COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO THE COST OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE. REPORT. *London, H.M.S.O. 1956. xii. 309p. Cmd. 9663. 9s.*

The Committee was appointed by the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State for Scotland in May 1953, under the chairmanship of Mr. C.W. Guillebaud, C.B.E., to review the present and prospective cost of the National Health Service; to suggest means (whether by modifications in organisation or otherwise) of ensuring the most effective control and efficient use of the funds; to advise how a rising charge upon the Exchequer can be avoided while providing for the maintenance of an adequate service; and to make recommendations. Some of the important findings and recommendations of the Committee are as follows :—

The General Structure of the National Health Service

(i) *Proposed Unification of the Health Services* : If statutory *ad hoc* health authorities are appointed, as has been suggested in certain quarters, to administer the hospital, family practitioner and local health authority services, it would remove from the local health authorities their important domiciliary health services and create a division between different types of public health work at least as serious as the present divisions within the National Health Service. The only form of major reorganisation which calls for serious discussion is one which would integrate the three branches of the National Health Service without depriving the local authorities of their existing domiciliary health functions—i.e., a reorganisation which would add responsibility for the hospital service and/or the Executive Council services to the present duties of the local health authorities.

(ii) *Proposed Transfer of the Hospital Service to Local Health Authorities* : It is doubtful whether the local authority machine would be able to carry the additional burden of the hospital service. A great deal still remains to be done by the local authorities in the development of their own home health and welfare services. Some form of regional authority will always be required for the efficient planning of a national hospital service and if the service were to be managed by the local authorities, Joint Boards (or some similar bodies) would be necessary to carry out the planning function. It would simply create new problems in the relationship between Joint Boards and local authorities, instead of improving their efficiency.

(iii) *The Appointment of a National Board or Corporation* : A service which costs the Exchequer more than £400 million per year must be accountable, through a responsible Minister, to Parliament and not to a National Board or Corporation, the appointment of which has been suggested in certain quarters. The National Board would no doubt be able to make possible the interchange of staff between the central body and the authorities at all levels of hospital administration. But this advantage does not justify the appointment of a new Board or Corporation whose constitution alone would pose a host of difficult problems.

(iv) *Structure of the National Health Service* : The structure of the National Health Service laid down in the Acts of 1946 and 1947 was framed broadly on sound lines, having regard to the historical pattern of the medical and social services of this country. Accordingly, it will be altogether premature to propose any fundamental change in it. The Service has just begun to grapple with the deeper and wider problems which confront it. What is most needed at the present time is the prospect of a period of stability, in order that all the various authorities and representative bodies can think and plan ahead with the knowledge that they will be building on firm foundations. Some of the strains and stresses of the National Health Service are attributable to the difficulty experienced by many who had grown up under the old system when called upon to operate a service administered on different lines. Longer experience of the working of the Service and the gradual emergence of a new generation may make comparatively simple many things which now appear difficult or impracticable.

The amount of natural resources, expressed in terms of finance, manpower and materials, which are to be allocated to the National Health Service,

must be determined by the Government as a matter of policy, with due regard to the competing claims of other social services, and national commitments and to the total amount of resources available. The development of the National Health Service is one among many public tasks in which objectives and standards must be realistically set and adjusted as time goes on both to means and to needs.

The Hospital and Specialist Services

(1) *Powers and Functions of Hospital Authorities :*

- (i) Two levels of management—the regional and the group—are essential for the efficient administration of the Service which deals with more than 3,000 Hospitals in England and Wales and some 400 in Scotland. The Regional Hospital Boards should be told, and Hospital Management Committees should accept, that the Regional Boards are responsible for exercising a general oversight and supervision over the administration of the Hospital Service in their Regions. The Ministry of Health should leave the task of supervising the Hospital Management Committees to the Regional Boards and should not itself undertake this task over the head of the Boards.
- (ii) The Regional Hospital Boards and Boards of Governors are, at present, required to seek the prior approval of the Health Departments to capital works costing more than £10,000, and the Health Departments have also to seek the prior approval of the Treasury to capital works costing more than £30,000. These limits should be raised to £50,000 and £100,000 respectively.
- (iii) The existing controls over the appointment of consultants and junior hospital medical staff in England and Wales should be retained, but the controls over other categories of staffing establishments be relaxed as far and as fast as possible. The hospital authorities should themselves carry out reviews of their staffing establishments at regular intervals.

The responsibility for ensuring economy in the use of hospital staff should remain fairly and squarely with the Regional Hospital Boards and Boards of Governors, with the proviso that the Boards must seek the authority of the Ministry to make any additional consultant appointments. The Department of Health for Scotland should also consider the desirability of adopting a similar procedure for the control of staffing establishments similar to that suggested for England and Wales.

(2) *Medical Consultation at Regional Level :* It is very important to integrate the medical aspects of the hospital, local health authority and general practitioner services. The inclusion of representatives of the Universities, the Medical Officers of Health and the general practitioners on each regional consultative committee would be of great value.

(3) *Hospital Groupings* : Regional Boards should review their hospital groupings and in particular consider whether it would be in the interests of sound and economical management to split up some of the large groups, and to amalgamate some of the very small groups. The "satellite" type of group is one of the most suited in size and function to management by a single Hospital Management Committee. The larger groups should be broken down, wherever practicable, to bring them into line with this concept of the ideal hospital group. The mental hospitals and mental deficiency institutions should be managed separately under their own Management Committees and not in combination with one or more general hospitals. This is in fact the normal pattern in the hospital service.

(4) *Volume of Committee Work* : All Management Committees and Boards of Management should view their arrangements with the aim of simplifying their Committee's structure and reducing the volume of work by increased delegation of authority to responsible administrative officers. This delegation would be facilitated if the hospital secretary were given higher status in hospital administration and if the post of hospital secretary were to become a normal starting point to the hospital administrative career at group or regional level.

(5) *Appointment and Composition of Hospital Boards, Management Committees and Boards of Management* : The Health Ministers must reserve to themselves the sole right to decide about the appointment of the Members of the Regional Boards and aim at maintaining a certain pattern of membership which will take account of all the interests concerned in the Service. Members of the Medical profession should not be excluded from the membership of Hospital Boards, Management Committees or Boards of Management. Their inclusion will give invaluable advice to the lay members on medical aspects of hospital management and in turn help the doctors to understand more fully the broader administrative problems in the Hospital Service. The total number of medical members on a Regional Board, Management Committee or Board of Management should not exceed 25 per cent. save in exceptional circumstances.

(6) *Hospital Finance—Current Expenditure* : It would be impracticable to give direct financial rewards for underspendings to one Hospital Management Committee in a Region without doing an injustice to other Committees which have budgeted closely and spent up to the limit of their estimates. Moreover, it is a misconception that financial incentives of this kind are a proper way to ensure the efficiency of Hospital Management Committees.

(7) *Hospital Costing* : A good case has been made out for the introduction of departmental costing into the hospital service and that it should be started experimentally in the first instance in a limited number of hospitals and expanded subsequently in the light of experience. The subjective accounts must be retained at least for the time being, and the matter reviewed at a later date, after departmental costing has been introduced and expanded in the hospital service, to see if their continued retention is in fact essential. The Committee urges the importance of establishing at the hospital and departmental levels a system of effective budgetary control which will enable hospital managements in suitable cases to set their standards of efficiency each year and to judge at the end of the year whether those standards have been achieved.

(8) *Measurement of Hospital Efficiency* : When the right information is made available to responsible officers and at the right levels of management, the stage would be set for the examination of standards of performance in hospital departments both internally and in relation to other comparable departments. This will certainly entail the appointment of additional administrative, clerical and statistical staff but it is essential for better hospital administration.

(9) *Hospital Staffing* : An immediate provision should be made for the recruitment and training of the administrative staff of the hospital service. It should include methods of entry into the service, avenues of promotion, training, and an appropriate structure and salary grading of posts which will provide sufficient people of the right calibre at all levels of hospital administration.

As a part of the reorganisation of hospital medical staffing, provision should be made for a new specialist grade below that of the consultant which would offer a permanent position in the career structure of the hospital service.

The Family Practitioner Services :

Amalgamation of Executive Council Areas : After reviewing the case for and against the amalgamation of Executive Council areas, the Committee concludes that the existing pattern of Executive Council areas is broadly right, on the grounds that their boundaries should generally be co-terminous with those of the local health authorities, so as to strengthen the link between the general practitioner and domiciliary health services.

The Local Health Authority Services

(i) *Organisation* : The County Councils and County Borough Councils are the right authorities—bearing in mind the areas they serve and the resources they command—to plan and administer the local health and welfare services in co-operation with the hospital authorities and local Executive Councils. Certain authorities have already taken steps to combine the administration of their local health and welfare services, under one committee (the health committee) of the council. Those authorities who have not yet done so should follow the example which has already borne successful results.

(ii) *Finance* : In the best interests of local government, the arrangements for financing the local health services should remain unchanged, *i.e.*, with the cost shared equally between the local rates and the Exchequer. As soon as financial circumstances permit, the existing Exchequer subsidy towards the cost of providing new residential accommodation should be abolished and instead the net expenditure (both capital and current) incurred in providing all residential accommodation of this type should attract a 50 per cent. Exchequer grant. In return, the Minister of Health and the Secretary of State would be able to require local welfare authorities to develop their services, as and when the state of the national economy will permit, on a scale commensurate with the needs.

(iii) *Health Centres* : The wisest course to pursue at the present moment is to continue an experimental approach towards the development of health centre and to accumulate information about the experience gained from the centres already in operation. Where there is an urgent need for new maternity and child welfare clinics and surgery accommodation—e.g. in areas of new housing development, or in heavily populated industrial communities where the existing facilities are clearly inadequate, there would seem to be a valid case for developing health centres.

(iv) *Maternity and Child Welfare Services* : The maternity services are in a state of some confusion, which must impair their usefulness, and which should not be allowed to continue. The present structure appears to represent a not very satisfactory compromise between the services, which were in existence before the Appointed Day and the new maternity medical service which was introduced with the National Health Service. The time has now come for an appropriate body to review the whole of this field to find out precisely what services—medical and educational—are needed for mothers and young children and how they can best be provided through the framework of the National Health Service.

(v) *The Ambulance Service* : (i) The administrative responsibility for the provision of ambulance services should be transferred from the local health authorities to the hospital authorities. (ii) All hospital authorities of appropriate size and hospital groups should appoint Transport Officers at the earliest possible date, unless they can prove to the satisfaction of the Regional Hospital Board that they have made alternative arrangements which are working effectively and economically.

Whitley Council Machinery

(i) *Rigidity of Whitley Council Scales of Remuneration* : In any national service, there must be some form of national machinery for agreeing centrally upon the salaries and gradings of the staff employed. The Whitley system, although capable of improvement in detail, seems to be generally appropriate for this purpose. The Whitley Council agreements themselves, however, need not be rigid and inflexible in their terms; provision could be made in the agreements for a certain measure of elasticity to meet variations where the need arises. The Management sides and the Staff sides of the Whitley Councils might profitably explore the methods which have been used by other large scale undertakings to introduce flexibility into national agreements and should consider whether something more might be done in this way to increase the flexibility of Whitley Council Agreements.

(ii) *The Composition of the Management Sides* : The representation of Regional Hospital Boards and Hospital Management Committees on the Whitley Councils should be substantially increased. This will have the dual effect of bringing greater experience of hospital management to Whitley Council discussions and also of helping the Management sides to carry the hospital managers along with them in implementing their decisions.

(iii) *Consultation with Hospital Managements* : The Health departments should review the present arrangements for consultation with Regional

Hospital Boards and invite Regional Hospital Boards to review their arrangements with Hospital Management Committees, in order to make certain that the Management sides of the Whitley Councils are as fully aware as possible of the views of these authorities before decisions are reached on matters which will affect them.

General

(i) *Proposed Research and Statistics Department*: The Health Departments should set up a Research and Statistics Department which would devote the whole of its time to statistical investigation and operational research in general, and would consider what information is now lacking as to the working of the National Health Service and how this information might best be produced. The Research and Statistics Department would function as the Intelligence Branch of the Health Departments, working in the closest co-operation with the Departments' administrative and medical staff; and would be constantly engaged in the search for facts and information which would enable administrators to make right decisions for the future development of the Service.

(ii) *Co-operation within the National Health Service*: If the National Health Service is to work properly, co-ordination is needed at three levels—first, centrally, so as to ensure that all three branches of the Service are associated together in carrying out a single national policy; secondly, at the level where the national policies are applied to local circumstances; and thirdly, at the personal level where individual workers in the Service must co-operate to help a particular patient. The first of these requirements can be met through the central administration of the Ministry of Health and the Department of Health for Scotland. The second and third have been achieved by a variety of means and with varying success, but there is still room for improvement in many areas.

(iii) *National Insurance and the Health Service*: As regards the general feeling that as the people pay for the National Health Service through their National Insurance contributions they are entitled to take the greatest possible advantage of any free facilities available under the National Health Service Acts, it is pointed out that the National Health Service is not an insurance scheme and that its benefits do not depend on the payment of insurance contributions by the users of the Service.



Book Reviews

BRITISH GOVERNMENT INSPECTION—The Local Services and the Central Departments; By JOHN S. HARRIS. London, Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1955, xii. 196p. 25s.

"This study analyses and attempts to evaluate inspection as an administrative device employed by central governments to achieve supervision, guidance, and control over local government authorities." In other words, the book constitutes a case study of the British system of inspection as an instrument of government. In all large organizations, non-governmental as well as governmental, and among governmental, in federal as well as unitary, there are numerous situations in which the primary responsibility for administration is vested in an authority near the scene of action but a wider or more central authority still retains responsibility of overall guidance and co-ordination. In fact, the trend of administrative developments is in the direction of increasing these situations. While no two situations of this nature are completely comparable, experience gained in any one has lessons which may be utilized for determining action in another.

In U.K., the national government, *i.e.* Her Majesty's Government, has few functions of internal administration under its direct control. Most of these are attended to by appropriate local bodies. The Government is, however, responsible to Parliament in so far as policy and finance are under parliamentary control. To influence action and reassure Parliament is thus essential for the Government. Parliamentary responsibility without direct administrative powers can be secured only by a system of inspection. Usually inspection is accompanied by a sharing of costs between central and local authorities.

The inquisitorial or disciplinary aspects of inspection tend to be emphasized in the hands of inexperienced inspectors. But, by and large, the inspectors as a body represent a group of persons whose expertise and experience qualify them to exercise the functions of guidance and advice. Acceptance by the inspected is almost entirely dependent on the obviously superior expertise and experience of the inspectorate. The past experience of the U. K. indicates that successful inspection is more a case of finding suitable inspectors than of giving them legal powers. This latter can be easily done, but creating a tradition of wisdom and maturity is achieved only over a long period.

While sanction of grants-in-aid, approval of bye-laws and ultimate control over the appointment and dismissal of some key personnel are methods of influencing local government action, they depend for their success on an efficient system of inspection. Inspectors are not only the source of information on which central action is based, but they are also the channel through which guidance and advice are conveyed in the most effective and acceptable form. Mr. Harris' book contains a factual account as to how inspection is actually carried out by Her Majesty's Government in the spheres of poor relief, public health,

local government services, education, constabulary forces, highway and fire services. The historical background and details of operation of each inspectorial service are touched upon to the necessary extent. As policing functions are more characteristic of the governmental process than any other, the way inspection helps Her Majesty's Government to discharge its responsibility in the field would serve as a good illustration of what Mr. Harris feels is the proper role of inspection in inter-authority relationships.

A century ago, an Act of the British Parliament enjoined on all local authorities in U.K. the duty of maintaining a sufficient police force. The Act also provided for subsidizing expenditure incurred on this force, and for appointment of Inspectors. It was the statutory duty of the Inspectors to inquire into efficiency and organization of local police forces, and into the physical conditions, *e.g.*, buildings, equipment, etc., in which they had to work. The central grant for meeting part of police expenditure to which a local authority was entitled could be disbursed by the Treasury only on certification of efficiency to be issued by the Home Office. The reports of Inspector of Constabulary constituted the basis on which the Home Office would issue the appropriate certificate. If the Home Office refused to certify to the efficiency of the local police, the matter had to go to Parliament along with statements both of the Inspectors and of the local authorities. Thus, while the Inspectors could not arbitrarily come in the way of the central grant, normally if the advice of the inspectors was sound in itself few local authorities would insist on a Parliamentary pronouncement in the matter. In 1919, the Parliament, almost by a natural assertion of its function, authorized the Secretary of State to issue regulations as to the government, mutual aid, pay, allowances, pensions, clothing, expenses, and conditions of service of all the members of all police forces in England and Wales.

In the course of their tours of inspection the Inspectors of Constabulary conduct a review parade of the local police, meet members of the police committee and of the general public. Thus the public relations and personnel aspects are taken care of along with the professional and organisational ones. When he considers it necessary to do so, an Inspector may follow up or review an individual case or process, so as to convince himself that a sufficiently high standard is being observed. As the Inspectors are closely associated with the working of the regional police training centres, their continued interest in police operation is a welcome supplement to the training received by police officers. There is one Woman Assistant Inspector of Constabulary to supervise the work of women constables in the several forces.

The most significant part of the system, as illustrated by Inspectors of Constabulary, is that far from undermining local initiative and civic pride Inspectors have helped to nurse these. A formal certificate of efficient performance is no longer needed to qualify for the treasury grant. A mere acquiescence by the Inspector in the general tone and progressiveness of a local force is considered adequate. During extremely critical days of the war, only an inherently decentralized system of police like the British could have worked. Inspection did not come in the way of its continuance, but only strengthened it by conveying to it lessons from a wider experience.

Mr. Harris has discussed not only for the police, but also for the other major areas of local administration, the full details of a system

of inspections. Structural matters, e.g., number of inspectors, their qualifications, organisation, periodicity of inspections, discretionary powers left to Inspectors, and the relationship of inspectors to local authorities, have been fully dealt with. It is not surprising to come up with the author's conclusion that Inspectors have been most successful where they have secured the co-operation of the inspected local authorities. This, indeed, is the secret of successful central inspection in a democratic form of administration. The Inspector must fulfil in practice, as he is represented to do in theory, the role of the representative of the bigger community to assist a smaller component of the same. The community itself is acting at two levels for the task of self-regulation, and the Inspector is the people's agent who makes this possible. Unless inspection is organized and conducted so as to conform to this role, far from being an aid to decentralized democratic administration, it would turn out to be—as has indeed been the case in several autocratic systems—an instrument of centralized authority.

A careful perusal of Mr. Harris' book may be confidently recommended to all those who would desire to have a system of management where the merits of a decentralized system are sought to be attained without inviting the usual blemishes of pettiness and stagnation from which smaller authorities suffer.

—D. G. Karve

THE CIVIL SERVICE IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE; Ed. WILLIAM A. ROBSON. London, The Hogarth Press, 1956, vii, 191p. 21s.

This is a collection of 14 essays on various aspects and problems of the Civil Service, embodying an exceptional wealth and range of knowledge and experience. Among the contributors are Mr. Attlee, Sir Edward Bridges (until recently Permanent Secretary to the Treasury) and Sir Laurence Helsby (First Civil Service Commissioner); and Professor Robson, besides editing the book, has contributed two essays. Most of the essays were originally published in *The Political Quarterly*, in the autumn of 1954. But, many of them now appear in an expanded form, and some of the new ones, particularly Professor Robson's "Bureaucracy and Democracy", and Professor Andre Bertrand's contribution on "The Recruitment and Training of Higher Civil Servants in the United Kingdom and France", are specially valuable.

The occasion for the issue of the original essays was the centenary of the Trevelyan-Northcote Report—a point of some interest to India, for Trevelyan had gone to the Treasury with a background of distinguished and stormy, service in this country. Also, the principles of recruitment recommended in the Report were adopted for the Indian Civil Service some 15 years earlier than for the Home Civil Service, and are, in essence, still in force. The real value of the book, however, lies not in the historical retrospect, to which, in fact, very little space has been devoted, but in the authority and insight with which the main present-day problems of the Civil Service have been considered. No attempt has been made to offer ready-made solutions to all the problems. Many of the problems are too complex, and the writers too wise, for that; but there is some indication in most chapters of what the writer considers to be the sound approach, or the likely direction of advance.

What is wrong with the bureaucracy? Can it exist and develop without eating into the vitals of democracy? What, in any case, does bureaucracy precisely mean? Professor Robson has posed and attempted to answer these questions. Mr. Chatenet, Director of the French Civil Service, has raised the same issue in a different form: Is there a danger that the need for permanence of civil servants might induce in them a tendency to independence in relation to the political rulers? Is it possible for the Civil Service to be a corporate body without behaving like an autonomous power in the State? In the opinion of Mr. Chatenet, such a reconciliation has been achieved in the British Civil Service.

Professor Robson considers bureaucracy a necessity in a Welfare State—and not an evil necessity either—but recognises what may be called bureaucracy's occupational maladies, and suggests the remedies: decentralisation of authority, integration of the Civil Service with the community, an effective and continuous system of communication between the governors and the governed, and widespread participation in the administrative process by persons who are neither professional politicians nor civil servants. In the experience of the reviewer, civil servants, employed on the Community Projects and the National Extension Service, have been conspicuously free from the maladies of the bureaucracy, and among the main reasons has been the application of the remedies which Professor Robson commends. A strong but reasoned political control at the top is another powerful safeguard against bureaucratic evils, and Mr. Attlee, who ought to know, has observed that civil servants prefer a 'difficult' Minister to one who is of no account. This is generally true in India also, though, unfortunately, not widely known. Parliamentary questions are another salutary check on the bureaucracy but Mr. Attlee has also referred to its less useful side, *viz.*, its tendency to induce in the civil servant a certain hesitation and nervousness in dealing with affairs. Can these conflicting considerations be reconciled? Many civil servants in this country would like this parliamentary institution to thrive, and consider that its harmful effect on Civil Service initiative and boldness is apt to be over-estimated.

Different aspects of Treasury control have been dealt with by two distinguished civil servants with long Treasury experience. The current philosophy at the Treasury is that the interests of economy in both expenditure and staff are best served if the Treasury concentrate on broad issues, and leave a fair measure of freedom to the other Ministries. This is a live, but so far largely unsettled, issue in India.

In more than one chapter, there is reference to the large body of professional, scientific and technical staffs in the Civil Service, and to the problems which this has created. There is the question of the place of these specialists in the Civil Service hierarchy, and of their functions, relative status and pay. The specialist element is still small in our own Civil Service, but all these issues to have begun slowly to crystallize, and at certain points in the structure, tension is already discernible.

In recruitment and post-entry training, the divergence between the British and the French systems has been brought into focus in the two chapters written by Frenchmen. Britain still believes in having the best products of the universities, without any regard to the relevance of the subjects studied, to the work done in the Civil Service. In France, the syllabus of the competitive examination for the administrative class practically limits entry to those who had studied the social sciences; and the French

have so far nothing like method II entry into the British administrative class, which is based largely on prolonged interviews. While the British are still relying mainly on training young officers on and in the job, the French have a highly organized system of training imparted at, and under the auspices of, the National School of Administration, for a total period of some 31 months. The difference reflects the French concept of the Civil Service as a well-differentiated profession.

There is a great deal more in the book that has relevance to our own problems of public administration. Anybody who is seriously interested in these problems will find it well worthwhile, studying and re-studying this book of less than 200 pages.

—L. P. Singh

INTERVIEWING FOR THE SELECTION OF STAFF; By E. ANSTEY & E.O. MERCER. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1956, xiv, 111p. 10s. 6d.

Of the making of interviews there is no end. There are political interviews, press interviews, stage interviews, sports interviews. On the same day and in the same paper one may read an illustrated interview of a film star and a political dictator. This book deals, however, with a pedestrian subject, interviews for the selection of staff. It is, therefore, most useful for heads of business houses and Government departments, and members of the Public Service Commissions. The reviewer after eight years of experience has found no book of greater practical value. It is intended for the amateur, not the professional, and yet the professional interviewer can learn a great deal from it.

In this well arranged book, which is full of sanity and realism, there are thirteen chapters. The subject is dealt with logically and nothing is taken for granted. The authors begin with the aim of the selection interview and they rightly emphasize the Seven-Point Plan of Alec Rodger giving us the qualities to be considered in each candidate and they are as follows :— (1) knowledge, (2) general ability, (3) special aptitude, (4) disposition, (5) aims and interests, (6) physical capacities and (7) experience and opportunities.

The authors then deal with the plan of attack and the importance of a systematic approach. After discussing preliminaries, the method of the interview is carefully discussed in Chapter 5. The most important thing to ensure is to have the confidence and the co-operation of the candidate and then to conduct the interview so that it may yield the fullest information about the candidate. To the beginner, the caution is administered that "talking too much himself is a common fault of the inexperienced interviewer." The methods of asperity, provocation and disagreement are to be used with great caution and are not generally recommended.

In Chapter 7, we have a good discussion of the Board Interview, this being more complicated than an interview by a single officer.

A very valuable Chapter—Chapter 10—deals with reaching conclusions. The authors take individual cases and apply their commonsense methods to the final conclusion to be arrived at and this is useful for those whose main business is to interview for the purpose of selecting staff for public service, and to arrange candidates in the order of merit.

The authors quote a business woman who said that she had three definite rules. She would never employ any man who wore suede shoes, or a beard, or who wrote his application in coloured ink. The reviewer has also his pet aversions : red hair, a swaggering or blustering manner, pompous or Johnsonian airs, those who read the *novels* of Bernard Shaw. But such angularities of judgement can well be rounded off by the study of a book such as this. Above all, it is good to know that the authors believe that the best way of learning to interview is by interviewing; and the second best way is to think constantly of employing a better and more precise instrument for judging human material.

A first-rate book, which should be in the hands of all persons and authorities concerned with the selection of staff by the method of interviewing. It will help in the formation of a sound style of interviewing, and may even dispel the illusion of infallibility from which some of us suffer.

—A.A.A. Fyze

STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA; By A.S. ALTEKAR. Banaras, Motilal Banarsidass, 1955, 2nd ed., vi, 386p. Rs. 15.

Dr. A.S. Altekar's is 'a comprehensive work explaining succinctly the Hindu political ideas, theories and ideals and describing the different features and aspects of the ancient Indian administration in its numerous branches'. He has defined ancient India as India from the Vedic age to about 1,000 A.D., excluding the earlier history. The sources of his study are partly original and partly secondary; he has also utilised an unpublished manuscript! There are in all seventeen chapters in the book, roughly falling in four sections, namely, political theory, the pattern of administration which became stereotyped after 500 A.D., a historical survey of Indian administration under different rulers, and lessons of ancient India to modern India.

The essence of the ancient theory was that the state was divine in origin and its duty was to uphold the divine law technically known as *dharma*. Constitutional writers therefore found it easy to prescribe a uniform pattern of the government for every state, i.e., one ruler, a few ministers and many servants. While the thinkers said that what the sun is to earth God is to king, those who implemented the theory declared that monarchy was the only form of government which could preserve and fulfil the principles of *dharma*. Divinity was conceded not to the person but to the office of king. Thus a deep gulf was created from the very beginning between Hindu political theory demanding blind faith in and 'absolute allegiance' to the source of authority and modern political science resting on reason and logic. All *smritis*, *dharmaśāstras* and commentaries adduced further arguments to support the theory, and sovereign heads of states, in turn, became the ardent champions of the sacred law.

The political institutions which followed in the wake of this theory were equally peculiar. They were essentially historical products. The most important among these was the Caste. Priesthood created Brahmanas; fighting and government, Kshatriyas; and trade and industry, Vaisyas. All other social functions were left to Sudras; thus originated the system of four main castes. The ancient political theory too held that so long as inequality was a law of nature and equality was only the law of a state, a perfect blend of the two was, and could be, the only Caste.

A second but two-fold institution which owed its origin to *dharma* was the corporate guild in business and the *panchayat* in administration—two sides of the same coin, representing another two different aspects of the relation between King and People. According to the ancient constitutional writers King stood for Power (*danda*); but constitutional practice vested Property in the People. In the ancient polity the two were thus made complementary, and *artha sastra* (economics) and *niti sastra* (political science) overlapped at early stages. The King toiled for the welfare of all without distinction and could 'do no wrong' while the People managed lands, exchanged goods, volunteered to pay taxes, laboured free if necessary, settled local disputes, dealt with aliens and co-operated with the King's deputies. A tyrant was a mad dog and therefore could be destroyed, and treason could be punished with death. Modern political science describes this happy relationship between King and People as a perfect balance of the principles of centralisation and de-centralisation; but to the classical Hindu thinkers it was true *raja dharma* and true *janapada dharma*.

The pattern of administration which was evolved, though differing in detail during the times of different rulers, had certain common features, namely, a group of ministers to advise the king, a secretariat manned by a body of civil servants to carry out his policies; the division of administration into administrative provinces and districts; a very large measure of self-government for villages, and popular councils at the provincial and district levels. There were popular assemblies at the central level also in very ancient times. But these disappeared in the post-Vedic period as the size of the state became bigger, thus rendering their meetings impracticable. Accordingly, an attempt was made to protect the interests of the people by decentralising the functions of the government and vesting the district, town and village administrations with adequate powers. The work of these administrations was supervised and controlled by non-official councils. The popular control in ancient India was thus exercised not at the top but from the bottom.

Dr. Altekar's historical survey is also evidence of the fact that history played its own part in the origin and development of ancient Indian polity. He explains, in one of the chapters of his book, that they all originated in the patriarchal type of families which the Aryans brought into India and that wars made monarchy inevitable, indispensable and deep-rooted. But what is most difficult to understand in any description of ancient Indian administration is what was fact and what was fiction. The free mixture of 'is' with 'ought to be' in the writings of *Kautilya*, *Sukra* and *Bana*, for example, is responsible for the confusion in all studies, including the present one by Dr. Altekar.

—K.N.V. Sastri

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CENTRAL CONTROL; By A WEST MIDLAND GROUP. London Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956, viii, 296p. 28s.

The book presents a sample survey of English Local Government in the Five West Midland Counties of Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, and on the basis of that makes certain useful suggestions for reform, principally of Central-Local relationships. The ground covered is much wider than what the title of the book seems to indicate. There are chapters on the development of the local

government system, local government authorities, services, and finance, standards of local expenditure, regional organisation of Central Government departments, and Central and Local Government. The survey is based on personal and local knowledge and interviews with representative local and regional officials, besides a study of documentary material available. It is intended to serve a practical end, *viz.*, to create a sense of responsibility and ultimately a greater degree of efficiency in the administration of local affairs.

According to the survey, the principal ill from which English Local Government suffers today is over-centralization which has resulted in loss of interest of the electorate in local affairs, decline in the enthusiasm of the members of local bodies, and unwillingness of men and women of calibre to come forward as local government candidates. Fifty years ago 'local government was full of confidence in itself and had a worthy task which it fulfilled with some success'. But today it is sick and the malady is too much and a wrong type of central control.

The prescription for cure consists of a dozen recipes, which are, as follows :—

1. A fresh approach should be made to the distribution of functions between ministries working direct through their own officials, *ad hoc* boards and elected local authorities, according to the ability of each authority to carry out best the various tasks of the government.
2. Central Government should have not the power to require from local bodies detailed proposals in advance and to veto or alter them.
3. The financial responsibility of the local bodies should be *post hoc* and definitely related to efficiency and costs standards.
4. The carrying out of national policy by local bodies should be by inspection of performance and not by advance control of details.
5. Grants should be based on standards of adequacy rather than of approved expenditure.
6. Exchequer equalization grants and compensation of revenue grants should be abolished.
7. All services should be grant-aided and the grants should be according to a standard formula based on cost accountancy and pre-determined national standards.
8. The local authorities should have freedom to spend the grant and their own revenue as they think best. If they default in their obligations, they should be brought to book through the courts which can restrain them by the issue of writs of *ultra vires* and compel performance by *mandamus*.
9. Local bodies should publish full reports on their performance and costs as a corollary to their freedom to spend grants without detailed control.
10. There should be uniform accounting for all local authorities and on the lines of detailed costs accountancy.
11. The internal organization of local bodies should be the responsibility of the council. There should be no statutory committees, and ministerial approval of appointment of officials should not be required,

12. Some minister should be responsible for local government as a whole to prevent piecemeal and uncoordinated interference by individual ministries in respect of separate functions.

'The paradox of British local government today', stated *The Times* in its issue of the 21st March 1950, 'is that all who work in it agree that it needs reforming, yet all disagree over the reforms that are needed'. The above suggestions can be no exception to this. Not all would agree that the central government should have no veto over local proposals or call for their details in advance, that no conditions should be attached to the grants and local bodies should have complete freedom to spend them subject only to the publication of a full report on performance and costs, that *ultra vires* and *mandamus* would be effective substitutes for administrative control, that the financial responsibility of the local bodies should be only *post hoc*, that the entire internal organisation should be left to the unfettered discretion of the councils, or that one ministry like the ministries of interior in the continental countries should have over-all control concentrated in its hands. Local initiative and vigour are undoubtedly important, but local inertia, jealousies, and parochiality of vision are also factors which cannot be ignored, and it is mainly to counteract these, that the central control in its present form has developed.

Those, for example, who know what has happened to non-statutory finance committees in some of the boroughs where the whole council has insisted on functioning as its own finance committee, thus defeating the very object of such a committee, will find it difficult to entertain the proposal that the internal organisation of local bodies should be entirely left to the councils. It is all very well to say that there should be a reallocation of functions according to the suitability of a particular authority to carry out best a particular task, but are there any agreed criteria for judging such suitability? Would area be a relevant criterion—population, or financial resources? If it be a combination of these and similar other factors, what weightage each will have?

The survey devotes a lengthy chapter to working out standards of performance and cost with reference to four factors of population: size, ratable value per head, density and population's growth. While this attempt is interesting and impressive, the most important conclusion is negative, namely, that none of these factors is of general importance. In the present state of our knowledge of techniques of measuring efficiency of performance, it would appear to be premature to talk of stabilizing the allocation of functions or substituting *post hoc* review for the multi-sided administrative control. Where theory fails, horse sense must continue to guide.

The survey is, however, valuable for its description and analysis of the present situation of the English local bodies. It is based on first-hand investigation and contains a wealth of detail, statistical tables, maps and diagrams to which all those interested in English local government can profitably turn. The chapter on the Regional Organisation of Central Government Departments is of special interest as many people still seem to think that Britain has only a central government and a local government with nothing intervening between the two. Most of the books on English local government commonly leave this new development undescribed.

—M.P. Sharma

NOTICES

LAW AND PRACTICE OF ESTATE DUTY; By V. BALASUBRAHMANIAM. *Bombay, N.M. Tripathi Ltd.; 1956. xi, 726, xxxiii p. Rs. 22-8.*

An exhaustive analysis and interpretation of the various provisions of the Estate Duty Act 1953, which should prove useful both for the layman and practitioners of law. The relevant U.K. Finance Acts are given in Part IV.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN STATES OF INDIA; By *Central Council of Local Self-Government. 1956. New Delhi, Manager of Publications. iii. 146p.*

A useful addition to the existing scarce material on the organisation, functions, resources, and administration of the local bodies in India.

HOSPITALS AND THE STATE—Background and Blueprint; By THE ACTON SOCIETY TRUST, *London. 1955, 43p. 4s.*

This is an introductory study in a series of studies planned by the Acton Society to throw light on the nature and problems of large-scale social service organisations in general and the working of the Nationalised British Hospital Service in particular. It contains a short, vivid account of hospital organisation before and after the transfer of voluntary and local authority hospitals to public ownership, especially of the three new types of regional and local bodies (Boards of Governors, Regional Hospital Boards, and Hospital Management Committees). The study reveals that the principle of the span of control has been more closely observed in nationalised industries; but statutory decentralisation has been carried further in the hospital organisation. The investigation was planned and carried out by Mr. T.E. Chester, Dr. Jur (Vind), formerly Director of the Acton Society Trust and now Professor of Social Administration at Manchester University.

CORRIGENDUM

IJPA, Vol. II, No. 2 (April-June, 1956), Article by Mr. J.B. Cullingworth on 'Postwar Housing Policy and Administration in England and Wales', p. 109, lines 1 and 16 :

FOR 'national'

READ 'notional'

JOINT REFERENCE

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